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JPRS-UK0-86-009

6 JUNE 1986

USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No 2, JANUARY 1986

19991222 057

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[Translation from the Russian-language theoretical organ KOMMUNIST of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).]

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PUBLICATION DATA

English title : TRANSLATION FROM KOMMUNIST, No 2
January 1986

Russian title : KOMMUNIST

Author(s) :

Editor(s) : R. I. Kosolapov

Publishing House : Izdatelstvo "PRAVDA"

Place of Publication : Moscow

Date of Publication : January 1986

Signed to press : 22 January 1986

Copies : 1,047,000

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"Kommunist", 1986

STATEMENT BY GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE M. S. GORBACHEV,
15 JANUARY 1986

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 86 (signed to press 22 Jan 86) pp 3-11

[Text] The days of the new year 1986 are ticking away. This will be an important year, one could say a turning point in the history of the Soviet state, the year of the 27th CPSU Congress. The congress will formulate the main lines of the political, socioeconomic and spiritual development of Soviet society between now and the next millennium. It will adopt a program for the acceleration of our peaceful construction.

The entire efforts of the CPSU are directed toward ensuring further improvements in the life of the Soviet people.

A turn for the better is needed in the international arena as well. It is expected and demanded by the peoples of the Soviet Union and the entire world.

Based on this fact, at the very beginning of the new year the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Soviet government made decisions relative to a number of essential major foreign policy actions. Their purpose is maximally to contribute to the improvement of the international situation. They are dictated by the need to surmount the negative, confrontational trends which have increased in recent years and to clear the way for reducing the nuclear arms race on earth and preventing it in outer space, achieve a general reduction in the threat of war, and establish confidence as an inseparable component of relations among states.

I

The main among these actions is a specific program for the total elimination of nuclear weapons the world over within a precisely defined period of time.

The Soviet Union suggests the implementation and completion of the process of freeing the earth from nuclear weapons over the next 15 years, until the end of this century, acting gradually and systematically.

The 20th Century made mankind the gift of the energy of the atom. However, this great accomplishment of the human mind could become a weapon for human self-destruction.

Can this contradiction be resolved? We are convinced that it can. Finding efficient means for the elimination of nuclear weapons is a possible task if its implementation is undertaken without delay.

The Soviet Union suggests the initiation of a program for lifting from mankind the fear of nuclear catastrophe, starting with 1986. The fact that the United Nations has proclaimed this year an international year of peace provides further political and moral incentive. In this case we must rise above national egotism, tactical considerations, arguments and disputes, the importance of which is insignificant compared to the preservation of the main value--peace, a reliable future. The energy of the atom must serve nothing but peace. Our socialist state has invariably been in favor of this.

It was precisely our country which was the first to raise, as early as 1946, the question of banning the production and use of nuclear weapons and of the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes for the good of mankind.

What is the practical view taken today by the Soviet Union on the procedure for reducing nuclear armaments, both carriers and warheads, until their total elimination? Summed up, our proposals may be reduced to the following:

First stage. Within a period of 5 to 8 years the USSR and the United States will reduce their nuclear armaments which could reach the territory of the other country by one-half. No more than 6,000 warheads will be retained for the remaining such carriers.

It is self-evident that such a reduction is possible only if the USSR and the United States were to abandon the creation [sozdaniye], testing and deployment of space strike weapons. As the Soviet Union has repeatedly warned, the creation [sozdaniye] of nuclear strike weapons would eliminate the hope of reducing nuclear armaments on earth.

During the first stage the decision of the total elimination of medium-range ballistic and cruise missiles by the USSR and the United States in the European zone will be reached and implemented as a first stage in freeing the European continent from nuclear weapons.

In this connection the United States must assume the obligation not to supply its strategic and medium-range missiles to other countries and Britain and France not to increase their respective nuclear armaments.

It is necessary, from the onset, for the USSR and the United States to agree to stop all nuclear explosions and to appeal to other countries to join in such a moratorium as soon as possible.

The reason for which the first stage in nuclear disarmament pertains to the USSR and the United States is that it is precisely they that must set the example to the other nuclear powers. We told this most frankly to U.S. President Ronald Reagan at the Geneva meeting.

Second stage. At that stage, which should begin no later than 1990 and take 5 to 7 years, the remaining nuclear powers would begin to join in the nuclear

disarmament. They would initially assume the obligation to freeze all of their nuclear armaments and not to deploy them on the territory of other countries.

During that period the USSR and the United States would continue the reduction they agreed upon during the first stage and would take subsequent measures to eliminate their medium-range nuclear weapons and freeze their tactical nuclear weapons.

After the USSR and the United States have reduced their respective armaments by 50 percent during the second stage, another radical step would be taken. All nuclear powers would eliminate their tactical nuclear weapons, i.e., weapons with a range (radius of action) of up to 1,000 kilometers.

At that stage the Soviet-American agreement on banning strike space armaments should become multilateral, with the mandatory participation of the leading industrial states.

All nuclear powers would stop nuclear weapon testing.

A ban would be imposed on the creation [sozdaniye] of non-nuclear armaments based on new physical principles, the striking capacity of which would come close to that of nuclear or other mass destruction weapons.

The third stage would begin no later than 1995. During this stage all remaining nuclear armaments would be eliminated. By the end of 1999 there would be no nuclear weapons left on earth. A universal agreement would be drafted for this weapon to be revived never again.

It is considered that special procedures will be developed for the destruction of nuclear weapons and for dismantling, retooling or destroying their carriers. The quantity of weapons to be subject to destruction at each stage, the site of their destruction, and so on, will be agreed upon.

Control over destroyed or restricted armaments would be provided both through national technical means and on-site verification. The USSR is prepared to reach an agreement on any other additional control measures.

Unquestionably, the adoption of the nuclear disarmament program we are suggesting would have a beneficial impact on bilateral and multilateral talks. It would provide clearly defined schedules and guidelines, set specific deadlines for achieving and implementing agreements and make the talks single-minded [tselenapravlennost] and purposeful [tselustremlenost]. This would break the dangerous trend of the pace of the arms race outstripping talk results.

Therefore, we suggest entering the third millennium without nuclear weapons, on the basis of mutually acceptable and strictly monitored agreements. If the U.S. administration supports the objective of the elimination of nuclear weapons entirely and everywhere, as it has frequently declared, it is being offered the practical possibility of undertaking this in fact. Instead of wasting the next 10 to 15 years on the creation [sozdaniye] of a new weapon in

space, extremely dangerous to mankind, allegedly aimed at making nuclear armaments unnecessary, would it not be more sensible to undertake the destruction of such weapons themselves and, in the final account, reduce them to naught? This, I repeat, is precisely what the Soviet Union is suggesting.

The Soviet Union appeals to all peoples and states, the nuclear powers above all naturally, to support the program for the elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000. It must be entirely obvious to any unprejudiced person that no one would lose as a result of the implementation of such a program and that everyone would benefit. This is a problem of universal significance, which can and must be resolved only jointly. The sooner this program is translated into the language of practical action, the safer will life on our planet become.

II

Guided by this approach, and aspiring to take one more practical step within the context of the nuclear disarmament program, the Soviet Union has made an important decision.

We are extending by 3 months our unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions, the deadline of which expired on 31 December 1985. The moratorium will be extended even further should the United States, in turn, also stop nuclear testing. Once again we are suggesting to the United States to join in this initiative, the significance of which is obvious to literally everyone in the world.

Clearly, it was by no means simple for us to make such a decision. The Soviet Union cannot display one-sided restraint in terms of nuclear tests ad infinitum. However, the stakes are too high and the degree of responsibility too great for us not to explore all opportunities for influencing the position of others through the power of our example.

All specialists, scientists, politicians and military men agree that ending the tests would block the channels for perfecting nuclear weapons quite reliably. This is a prime task. However, the mere reduction of nuclear arsenals without a ban on nuclear weapon testing would not solve the dilemma of the nuclear threat, for the remaining part will be updated and the possibility will remain of creating [sozdavat] ever more refined and deadly nuclear weapons and testing their new varieties at test sites.

Therefore, ending tests is a practical step toward the elimination of nuclear armaments.

Let me make an advance stipulation. Possible references to verification as an obstacle to a moratorium on nuclear explosions are totally groundless. We are stating most definitely that to us verification presents no problem. Should the United States undertake to put an end to all nuclear explosions on a reciprocal basis, the proper verification of the observance of the moratorium will be totally ensured through national technical means as well as international procedures and, if necessary, on-site verification. We are calling on the United States for an agreement on this.

The USSR is firmly in favor of the moratorium becoming a bilateral and, subsequently, a multilateral action. We also are in favor of resuming the trilateral (USSR, United States and Great Britain) talks on the total and universal ban on nuclear weapon testing. This could be accomplished immediately, this very month. We are also ready to initiate without delay multilateral talks on banning tests within the framework of the Geneva disarmament conference, with the participation of all nuclear powers.

The nonaligned countries are suggesting that consultations be held with a view to extending the Moscow 1963 treaty on banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in space and under water to underground tests, currently outside the scope of this treaty. The Soviet Union is agreeable to this as well.

Since last summer we have been calling upon the United States to follow our example of ending nuclear explosions. To this day Washington has not done so despite the protests and demands of the public and the will of the majority of countries in the world. Exploding ever new nuclear systems, the American side is continuing to pursue the unattainable dream of military superiority. This is a sterile and dangerous policy. It is a policy unworthy of the standard of civilization reached by contemporary society.

Considering the lack of positive reaction on the part of the United States, the Soviet Union had the full right to resume nuclear testing as of 1 January 1986. According to the customary "logic" of the arms race, clearly this is the way it should have acted.

The entire point, however, is that it is precisely such a logic, if you can call it that, should be decisively smashed. We are making yet another attempt in this area. Otherwise, the process of military rivalry would turn into an avalanche in which any control over the development of events would become impossible. To yield to the element of a nuclear race is inadmissible. It would mean to act contrary to the voice of intelligence and of the human sense of self-preservation. New and daring approaches, a new type of political thinking and a sharpened awareness of responsibility for the fate of the peoples are necessary.

Once again the American administration has additional time to weigh our proposals on ending nuclear explosions and give them a positive answer. This is the precise reaction that the rest of the world will expect of Washington.

The Soviet Union is appealing to the U.S. President and Congress and to the American people. The possibility of halting the process of improvement of nuclear armaments and of developing [otrabotki] new such armaments exists. It must not be lost. The Soviet proposals put the USSR and the United States on an equal footing. They contain no attempts to outwit or beat the other side. We suggest taking the path of sensible responsible decisions.

III

The implementation of the program for reducing and eliminating nuclear arsenals will require to set in motion the entire existing system of talks and to ensure the maximal efficiency of disarmament mechanisms.

Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space armaments will resume in Geneva shortly. During our meeting with President Reagan in Geneva, last November, we held a frank discussion on the entire range of problems which are the subject of these talks, i.e., space strategic offensive weapons, and nuclear medium-range weapons. It was decided to speed up the talks. This agreement should not remain a mere declaration.

The Soviet delegation in Geneva will be instructed to work strictly in accordance with this agreement. We are expecting an equally constructive approach from the American side, above all on the question of space. Space must remain peaceful and no strike weapons should be placed in it. Nor should such weapons be created [sozdavatsya]. Let the strictest possible monitoring, including opening the respective laboratories to inspection, be organized in this connection.

Mankind is at a responsible stage in the new space age. It is time to abandon a way of thinking belonging to the stone age, when the main concern was to get hold of a bigger stick or heavier rock. We are against weapons in space. Our material and intellectual potential ensures the Soviet Union the possibility of creating [sozdaniye] any weapon should it be forced to do so. However, we are aware of our entire responsibility to the present and future generations. It is our profound conviction that we should enter the third millennium not with a "star wars" program but with broad plans for the peaceful development of space through the efforts of all mankind. We suggest that the development and implementation of such plans be undertaken in practical terms. This is one of the most important ways of ensuring progress on our entire planet and establishing a reliable security system for all.

Preventing the arms race from reaching into space means removing the obstacle which blocks deep reductions in nuclear armaments. The Soviet proposal of reducing the respective nuclear armaments of the USSR and the United States, which is a major step on the path to a total elimination of nuclear weapons, is on the agenda in the Geneva talks. Blocking the solution of the problems of space means unwillingness to terminate the arms race on earth. This must be said bluntly and for all to hear. It is no accident that the supporters of the nuclear arms race also zealously support the "star wars" program. These are two sides of a single policy hostile to the people's interest.

On the European aspect of the nuclear problem. The situation in which, ignoring commonsensical reasons and the national interest of the European peoples, American first-strike missiles are continuing to be deployed in some Western European countries triggers exceptional concern. This problem has been under discussion for a number of years. Meanwhile, security conditions in Europe are increasingly worsening.

The time has come to put an end to such a development of events and to untangle this Gordian knot. The Soviet Union has long suggested that Europe be made free of nuclear medium-range and tactical weapons. This suggestion remains in force. It is as a first and radical step in this direction that we suggest now, as I mentioned, that we eliminate at the very first stage of our program all ballistic and cruise medium-range missiles of the USSR and the United States in the European zone.

Achieving tactical tangible results at the Geneva talks would mean giving a substantial material content to our program for the total elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000.

IV

The Soviet Union considers as entirely realistic the task of totally eliminating this very century chemical weapons, which are a barbaric means of mass destruction.

Some progress has been made lately in discussions on chemical weapons at the Geneva disarmament conference. However, these talks have dragged out inadmissibly. We favor the intensification of talks on concluding an efficient and verifiable international convention on banning chemical weapons and eliminating their existing stockpiles, as was agreed with U.S. President Reagan in Geneva.

A fresh look is needed in the matter of banning chemical weapons as in other disarmament problems, by all participants in the talks. Let me emphasize most definitely that the Soviet Union favors the fastest possible total elimination of such weapons and the industrial base for their manufacturing. We are ready to provide at the right time information on the location of enterprises engaged in the production of chemical weapons and to terminate their production and initiate procedures for the elimination of the respective production facilities and undertake, soon after the enactment of such a convention, the elimination of chemical weapon stockpiles. All of this would be strictly monitored, including via international on-site inspections.

Taking certain intermediary steps would contribute to the radical solution of the problem. For example, a multilateral agreement could be reached on not sharing chemical weapons with anyone else and their nondeployment on the territory of other countries. As to the Soviet Union, it has always strictly adhered to these principles in its practical policy. We call upon the other states to follow this example and show similar restraint.

V

In addition to removing mass destruction weapons from the countries' arsenals, the Soviet Union suggests that reductions in conventional armaments and armed forces be made a subject of agreements.

Reaching an agreement at the Vienna talks could signal the beginning of progress in that direction. The outlines of a possible decision on reducing Soviet and American forces and subsequently freezing the level of armed forces of the opposing groups in the center of Europe appear to be taking shape. The Soviet Union and our Warsaw Pact allies greatly wish to see a successful outcome of the Vienna talks. If the other side truly aspires to this, 1986 could become a landmark in the Vienna talks. We proceed from the fact that a possible agreement on reducing forces would naturally require sensible verification. We are willing for this to take place. As to observing the obligation of freezing the size of the forces, in addition to national

technical means, permanent checkpoints at entrances into the reduction zone for all military contingents could be set up.

Now, as to an important forum such as the Stockholm conference on measures to strengthen confidence, security and disarmament in Europe. Its purpose is to ensure the erection of barriers blocking the use of force and covert preparations for war on land, at sea or in the air. Possibilities to this effect have appeared.

In our view, particularly under the current circumstances, the level of strength of the troops participating in large scale military exercises, information about which should be provided in accordance with the Helsinki Final Act, should be reduced. The time has come effectively to undertake the solution of unresolved problems at the conference. The question of notification of large-scale ground, naval and air force exercises is the worst bottleneck. Naturally, these are serious problems which must be resolved thoroughly in the interest of upgrading confidence in Europe. However, if for the time being such problems cannot be resolved comprehensively, why not attempt a partial solution? For example, we could agree now on giving notice on large-scale land and air force exercises and discuss the question of naval activities at the next stage of the conference.

It is no accident in the least that a significant portion of the new Soviet initiatives is directly related to Europe. Europe could assume a special mission in achieving a sharp turn in favor of a policy of peace, that of erecting the new building of detente.

Europe has the necessary and in many areas unique historical experience to this effect. Suffice it to recall that the Helsinki Final Act was formulated through the joint efforts of the Europeans, the United States and Canada. This historical document could be extensively used if a specific and tangible example is needed of a new way of thinking and of political psychology in the approach to problems of peace, cooperation and international confidence.

VI

As one of the largest states in Asia, ensuring Asian security is of vital importance to the Soviet Union. The Soviet program for the elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons by the end of this century is consistent with the feelings of the peoples on the Asian continent, to whom problems of peace and security are no less important than they are to the Europeans. How not to recall here that Japan, its cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, were the victims of a nuclear bombing, while Vietnam was the target of chemical weapons?

We highly value the constructive initiatives formulated by the socialist countries in Asia and by India and the other participants in the nonaligned movement. We ascribe great significance to the fact that both nuclear powers on the Asian continent--the USSR and the PRC--have assumed the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

The implementation of our program would radically change the situation in Asia. It would free the peoples in this part of the globe as well of the fear

of the nuclear and chemical threat and raise security in that area to a qualitatively new level.

We consider our program a contribution to the search for a general comprehensive approach to the establishment of a system of safe and durable peace on this continent jointly with all Asian countries.

VII

Our new suggestions are addressed to the entire world. Turning to active steps aimed at halting the arms race and armament reduction is a necessary prerequisite also for resolving the increasingly aggravating global problems, such as the destruction of the human habitat, the need to look for new sources of energy, and the struggle against economic backwardness, hunger and disease. The principle imposed by militarism--arming instead of developing--should be replaced by the opposite order of things: disarmament for the sake of development. The noose of the trillion dollar debt which is currently strangling dozens of countries and entire continents is the direct consequence of the arms race. The more than \$250 billion which is annually siphoned out of the developing countries is an amount which, for all practical purposes, coincides with the gigantic U.S. defense budget. In its essence, this coincidence is hardly accidental.

The Soviet Union would like that each measure to restrict and reduce armaments and each step taken toward freedom from nuclear weapons not only to bring greater security to the peoples but also to make possible the appropriation of more funds to improve the living conditions of the people. It is no accident that peoples which are striving to leave their backwardness behind and reach the level of the highly developed industrial countries link their prospects for freedom from indebtedness to imperialism, which exhausts their economy, to limiting and eliminating armaments, reducing military expenditures and converting resources to social and economic development. Unquestionably, this will be one of the most important topics in the international disarmament and development conference to be held in Paris this summer.

The Soviet Union is against making the implementation of disarmament measures dependent on so-called regional conflicts. This conceals both an unwillingness to take the path of disarmament as well as the aspiration to impose upon sovereign peoples an alien will and an order which would make it possible to preserve the greatly unfair conditions of existence of some countries at the expense of others and the use of their natural, human and spiritual resources for egotistical and imperial purposes by individual countries or aggressive groups. The Soviet Union has opposed and will continue to oppose this. It has been and remains a systematic supporter of the freedom of the peoples, peace, security and the strengthening of international law and order. Its objective is not the exacerbation of regional conflicts but their elimination through collective efforts on the basis of fair principles, the sooner the better.

There is currently no shortage of declarations in support of peace. The scarcity is felt in specific actions aimed at strengthening its foundations. All too frequently words of peace are used to conceal a policy of preparations

for war and reliance on force. Furthermore, speeches are made from lofty rostrums aimed, essentially, at letting the new spirit which is favorably affecting international relations today--the "spirit of Geneva"--evaporate. Matters are not limited to declarations. Actions are being taken, obviously aimed at encouraging hostility and mistrust and reviving the opposite of detente--confrontation.

We reject such kinds of acting and thinking. We would like 1986 to become not only a peaceful year but a year which would enable us to end the 20th Century under the sign of peace and nuclear disarmament. The set of new foreign political initiatives we offer is aimed at enabling mankind to meet the year 2000 under peaceful skies and in a peaceful outer space, free from the fear of nuclear, chemical or any other threat of annihilation, firmly confident of its own survival and the continuation of the human species.

The new and decisive actions in defense of peace and improvement of the entire international circumstance currently taken by the Soviet Union are a manifestation of the flesh and the spirit of our domestic and foreign policy and their organic unity. It is the fundamental historical law emphasized by Vladimir Ilich Lenin. The entire world can see that our country is lifting even higher the banner of peace, freedom and humanism which the Great October Revolution raised over the planet.

When it becomes a question of safeguarding peace and rescuing mankind from the threat of nuclear war, no one cannot stand aside or remain impartial. This affects everyone. In this case the contribution of each state, big or small, socialist or capitalist, is important. Also important is the contribution of each responsible political party, social organization and individual.

There is no more urgent, noble and humane task than that of blending all efforts for the sake of attaining this lofty objective. This task must be carried out by the people of our generation and not shifted to their descendants. This is the imperative of the time and, if you wish, the burden of historical responsibility for our decisions and actions for the time remaining until the beginning of the third millennium.

The course of peace and disarmament was and will remain the pivot of the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet State. The Soviet Union, which is actively implementing it, is ready to engage in extensive interaction with anyone who acts from the positions of reason, good will and awareness of responsibility for ensuring the future of mankind without wars and weapons.

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IN THE LANGUAGE OF TRUTH ON KEY PROBLEMS IN POLICY. ON THE PUBLICATION OF
M. S. GORBACHEV'S BOOK "SELECTED SPEECHES AND ARTICLES"

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 86 (signed to press 22 Jan 86) pp 12-22

[On the occasion of the publication of M.S. Gorbachev's book "Izbrannyye Rechi i Stati" [Selected Speeches and Articles]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1985, 383 pp]

[Text] In thinking about the exercise of democracy and equality under socialism and communism, on the eve of the October Revolution V.I. Lenin wrote: "We neither know nor could know the stages and practical steps through which mankind will reach this supreme objective. What is important, however, is clearly to realize the infinite falseness of the conventional bourgeois idea that socialism is something dead and frozen once and for all, whereas in fact it is only with socialism that the fast and actual progress in all areas of social and private life can be achieved on a truly mass basis, with the participation of the majority of, and, subsequently, the entire population" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 33, pp 99-100).

These words are exceptionally relevant in the current period of the life of the party and the people. It is as though time is running faster. We, Soviet people, felt this particularly acutely in listening to the New Year's address to the Soviet people, delivered by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary. The past year, which was instructive and filled with important accomplishments, a year of intensive labor and reinterpretation of acquired experience, a year of renewed hopes and daring plans for the future, enriched and organized our consciousness with the idea of the acceleration of socioeconomic development, which became the main idea in the present social life of the country.

What has accelerated, naturally, is not astronomical but social time. The clock is not ticking any faster. It is events which have begun to develop at a headlong pace; it is the social measure, the content itself of working and leisure time and of each one of its hours that are changing. As we think of the meaning of the New Year's counsel, each one of us inevitably must ask himself today: does the pace of my own work contribute to the acceleration of social development? Is the practical significance of each hour spent in such labor consistent with the new social dimensions? Has my personal contribution increased in all that we are doing jointly, for the sake of a better, more

just, spiritually saturated life and for the further strengthening of its socialist foundations and general communist principles?

A time of great changes demands of each one of us even greater persistence, dedication and fearless rejection of anything which has outlived its age, of mental inertia, boastfulness and complacency and customary yet by now useless plans and approaches. By calling things by their proper names, by calling a success a success, a shortcoming a shortcoming, and an error an error, today we have begun to see more clearly our possibilities, assess accomplishments more realistically and lay a course to the future more accurately.

We have an enormous mass innovative and difficult projects to accomplish. We have undertaken this firmly, with a sense of uplift. However, we are merely at the start of the way, at the very beginning of a work of tremendous scale, complexity and historical significance. Its meaning rests in the total utilization of the tremendous potential of the socialist system and the energetic and confident progress toward perfecting all aspects of life in Soviet society and their qualitative renovation. To cope with this huge pile of projects means as of now, as we enter the new 12th 5-year plan, to mobilize all the creative forces of the people, to tune up for an undeviating growth of the pace of social development and acceleration, day after day and year after year. This is the crux of the matter, the entire essence of our problem.

Based on active nationwide support and seeking the counsel of the working people and following their instructions, firmly and energetically pursuing the charted course, the Leninist party is advancing toward its 27th Congress, armed with new historical experience in building socialism and communism and in the struggle for peace and social progress. The comprehensive essence of this experience finds its concentrated manifestation in the book of selected articles and speeches by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, which Politizdat published by the end of last year. The theoretical conclusions and political stipulations which defined the strategy of the party's domestic and foreign policy at the present exceptionally complex and responsible segment of history, which is largely of a transitional nature on the domestic and international levels, are presented in this book as the result of the profound and comprehensive Marxist-Leninist interpretation of the live creativity of the masses, in whom the party has always seen an inexhaustible source of strength of socialism.

The authority of these conclusion and concepts is the authority of the truth of life itself, achieved through its real contradictions and in its revolutionary development.

The publication of M.S. Gorbachev's book on the eve of the 27th Congress is an event of great political meaning and significance. It covers a relatively short yet exceptionally important period in party activities--the period of elaboration of a purposeful and more energetic and mobilizing policy, the purpose of which is to give our social life the dynamism it needs.

The book begins with the report submitted at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which proclaimed a course of accelerating the socioeconomic development of the country and, on this basis, achieving a qualitatively new status in Soviet society; it ends with the report presented at the October

1985 Central Committee Plenum, which considered the draft new edition of the CPSU program, the party statutes (with suggested amendments), and the Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and the Period Until the Year 2000, and which presented these documents of tremendous political significance for partywide and nationwide discussion. This period is noted for its exceptionally intensive theoretical and practical political party work.

In the reports, speeches, addresses at home and abroad, to the party aktiv and labor collectives, to war and labor veterans, young people and party and state leaders of other countries, in talks with parliamentarians and journalists, greetings to foreign personalities, organizations and movements, and in addresses, statements and interviews included in the book, the party's contemporary policy appears in its entire principle-mindedness and humaneness, complexity and variety, in tireless innovative searches, and concern for the fate of socialism inseparably linked with concern for world civilization and for ensuring the peaceful future of mankind.

"Lenin taught the communists," M.S. Gorbachev said at the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "to proceed in everything from the interests of the working people, to penetrate deep within life, to assess social phenomena realistically, on the basis of class positions, and to conduct a constant creative search for the best ways to implement the communist ideals.

"It is with Lenin and his great ideas that we compare today our actions and plans and that we live and work in accordance with Lenin's behests" (p 7).

The reader will see in the author's thoughts on key problems of theory, economic strategy and social policy and on the development of socialist democracy and party construction, party ideological work and comprehensive activities in the international arena the tangible embodiment of the Marxist-Leninist methodology of revolutionary thinking and revolutionary action, and examples of Leninist understanding of the dialectical interconnection between continuity and innovation, realism and social optimism, and Leninist intolerance of shortcomings and abuses, and all kinds of slackness, falsehoods, formalism and verbiage, and a model of Bolshevik passion and honesty in politics.

Today the topics discussed in the book, the things which stirred up the entire party and country and which triggered new hopes in our people and in its numerous friends abroad, the topics of the speeches in Moscow, Paris, Leningrad, Dnepropetrovsk, Kiev, Tyumen and Tselinograd have become familiar to everyone. From the television screen and newspapers and journals the party's truthful words are finding their way to the minds and hearts of party members, millions of working people and people of good will the world over. However, it has been truthfully said that to know is not the same as to acknowledge, for to acknowledge means not merely to know and remember. To acknowledge means to become imbued with the spirit and methodology of the party's innovative course, to realize its historical necessity, to achieve an organic internal connection between ideas and concepts of acceleration of socioeconomic development of the country, to translate them into the language

of practical actions, to convert them into an active moral stance and to assume responsibility.

Party work deals with the decisive factor of all change--the human factor. Hence its main demand for an upturn in the minds and feelings of cadres from top to bottom. "The entire party experience proves that little could be changed in the economy, management and education without a psychological restructuring, without developing the desire and ability to think and work in a new way" (pp 132-133). This thought runs throughout the book which teaches us precisely this: to think more daringly and profoundly and to work with greater intensiveness.

The book is instructive above all for the clear examples it offers in formulating and implementing the political line on the basis of practical consultations with the people, inseparably related to discussions of specific practical problems and the daily activities of party committees, labor collectives, labor ministries and departments, and to the interests, needs and concerns of the working people. The attentive and thoughtful reader will see the way in which the idea formulated by the party and state leadership on the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic and the reorganization of all work is becoming richer and stronger, tested in the course of live and frank talks with workers, kolkhoz members, scientists and engineers, at meetings in party organizations and labor collectives, at conferences and meetings of the aktiv and simply in shops, on the streets and in the stores. Turning today to M.S. Gorbachev's reports, speeches and addresses, and considering the questions he addresses to his audiences and his arguments, the reader cannot fail to feel his direct involvement with party affairs and his participation in them.

What are important and instructive in the book are both the conclusions as well as the method, the way leading to them, the content and form of expression of the author's thoughts, their intonation and, in a word, everything associated with the concepts of the Leninist style of political management and party work.

"The policy of the Leninist party and its mind and conscience," as was said at the October Central Committee Plenum, "accurately express that which the people realize, their thoughts, expectations and hopes" (p 367). The book teaches us to speak in the language of truth and to meet face to face with all audiences--workers, peasants, intelligentsia and young people. Without this we cannot capture, we cannot feel the moods of the people, reflect them in party policy and make this policy the personal matter of the masses. Constant life ties with the masses is the essence of party work. And the very essence of this essence is relying on the working class, on this powerful progressive social force which can formulate bold initiatives, set the example of how to pose and solve national and state problems and be a model of high level organization and discipline.

Again and again we turn to the materials included in the book in no way merely for the sake of looking at the recent past. We turn to them in order to understand better, more extensively and more profoundly the main task of the present and to look at the future with confidence. The study of these materials gives food for thought, triggers new energy and sharpens the feeling

of personal responsibility for the development of common projects. This study must become a school of Marxist-Leninist thinking, alien to any dogmatism, a school for its dissemination and popularization, political realism and communist morality for every party member.

"Sincerity in politics, i.e., in the field of human relations which deals not with individuals but with millions of people," Lenin emphasized, "sincerity in politics offers a fully accessible verification of the consistency between words and actions" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 32, p 259). That is precisely the way our party formulates the question today as well and the way it is raised in this book.

Sincerity in politics presumes, above all, a realistic assessment of the true situation in society and of achievements and shortcomings, without even a shadow of illusions. We have all the necessary reasons to consider that our country has achieved great successes in all fields of social life. Within a short historical time it ascended to the peaks of social progress. Soviet society today is a society with a highly developed economy, steadily growing well-being of the people and with high culture and rich spiritual life. It is a society in which most important social problems have been resolved and in which the entire system of social relations has reached a new level of maturity. It is a society of true democracy, of respect for the dignity and rights of the citizens and their high responsibility. The USSR is a powerful and prosperous state confidently laying a path to the communist future. Our historical gains, permanent values and inseparable features of the socialist way of life are the most important source of political stability, social optimism and confidence in the future.

All of these are unquestionably proven facts which are the foundations of a principle-minded policy. Such a policy presumes an equally reliable study of problems, difficulties, shortcomings and errors made in the past and the exposure of their causes. Only thus can we turn the course of events for the better in fact rather than in words.

Checking the consistency between words and actions is impossible without objective information. The parts in the book dealing with the important lesson drawn from the practice of the recent past--the lesson in political honesty--deserve the particular attention of party, soviet, economic, trade union and Komsomol leaders and all party members. They remind us of the harm caused to the party's cause by those whose lack of courage and party- and civic-mindedness prevents them from seeing the real situation, assessing it on the basis of principle-minded positions, promptly reporting it to the Central Committee and the government and asking sharp questions.

For example, sectorial science bears a great deal of the blame for the adverse situation which developed in the West Siberian petroleum extraction area. "For a number of years sectorial scientific organizations used virtually their entire arsenal to justify the existing situation. Institutes, however, are not departmental lawyers" (p 241). Such criticism must unquestionably be heard by all scientists, including those in the social sciences. Science does not exist in the least for the sake of justifying stagnation or for anyone's personal convenience. It does not have the right to cling to judgments

rejected by life and to yesterday's formulas. By virtue of its essential inner nature it is called upon to stimulate progress and to indicate the true ways leading to upgrading work efficiency and to forecast long-range developments.

Scientists, as servants of the truth, have the direct professional, party and civic duty to provide objective, accurate and tested information. Whatever area it may pertain to, such information is one of the most necessary prerequisites for resolving problems of reliability in technology, economics, social management and ideological work. "Reliable means firm, efficient, unfailing and durable" (p 243). Reliable also means truthful, accurate, substantiated and applicable in planning and forecasting. "Any embellishment, not to mention an unquestionable lie," the author emphasizes, "can only harm our great cause. This Leninist behest must be a law of life of our society" (p 244).

At the April plenum, the party indicated most frankly and directly the adverse trends in the country's economic development and the difficulties which had appeared, and exposed their main causes which were that changes in the objective reasons governing the development of production, the need for its accelerated intensification and changes in economic management methods had not been properly assessed and, which is particularly important, no persistence had been shown in formulating and taking major steps in the economic area.

It was important not only to realize profoundly and fully the existing situation but also to draw most serious conclusions from it. The party did that. M.S. Gorbachev's reports at the April plenum and June conference on problems of accelerating scientific and technical progress and other materials found in the book include the comprehensively substantiated concept of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development and an expanded efficient program for resolving the crucial problems of the Soviet economy; they provide an answer to the main question of how and by what means can the country reach new quality standards in its development. "The task of accelerating the essential growth rates," it was pointed out at the April plenum, "is entirely feasible if all of our work is centered on economic intensification and acceleration of scientific and technical progress, reorganizing management, planning and structural and investment policy, comprehensively upgrading organization and discipline and radically improving the work style" (p 10).

This thought is the key to the solution of problems crucial to our progress. Today it is a question not merely of upgrading the growth rates of the national economy but of achieving another quality of such growth, and, furthermore, adopting new approaches to the implementation of the principles governing our development. It is a question not only of the economy but of society as a whole, of all its spheres in their intensive dialectical interaction.

The task of accelerating socioeconomic progress is dictated by domestic as well as international conditions. The historical destinies of the country and the firmness of the positions of socialism in the contemporary world greatly depend on our future work.

The acceleration concept offers a broad theoretical and political platform for party activities at the present historical level. Its starting points are the tried principles and ideas of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political economy, and scientific socialism and a creative understanding of the dialectics of socialist development.

This dialectics is such that the levels we have reached do not permit us to rest on our accomplishments. They broaden historical horizons and face the people with increasingly more difficult and responsible tasks. "The formula which expresses the essence of the party's contemporary course is to achieve a qualitatively new condition of Soviet society through the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development" (pp 359-360).

Our party submits to the people the concept of acceleration and it is with this concept that it is advancing toward its forthcoming 27th Congress. This is the pivot of all three precongress documents, creatively being discussed currently by the entire party and people. "The purpose of the accelerated socioeconomic development of the country is to ensure a materially and spiritually rich and socially dynamic life of the Soviet people under peaceful conditions, to bring to light even more completely and clearly the possibilities and advantages of a civilization of a historically new type, embodying the socialist system" (p 357).

The party's programmatic stipulation is to firmly follow a course toward communism, allowing neither haste, i.e., the introduction of communist principles regardless of the level of material and spiritual maturity of society, nor sluggishness in the implementation of imminent changes and solution of new problems. It proceeds from the fact that no sharp distinction exists or could exist between the two phases of the single communist system. The growth of socialism into communism is determined by the objective laws of social development. The higher stage of communism cannot be reached directly, bypassing socialism, or improperly depicting socialism as a separate system. The development of socialism and the increasingly fuller determination of its possibilities and advantages and the strengthening of its inherent general communist principles are what real progress by society toward communism means. The third party program, in its current edition, is a program for the planned and comprehensive advancement of socialism and the further progress of soviet society toward communism on the basis of the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development. It is a program of the struggle for peace and social progress.

Strictly in accordance with Marxist-Leninist theory, the new edition of the CPSU program proceeds from the decisive role of the economy in social development. The reader will find in the report submitted at the conference on problems of scientific and technical progress and other materials an expanded characterization of the content and basic trends of the party's economic strategy. This strategy is aimed at reorganizations on a historical scale. The new technical reconstruction of the national economy must qualitatively transform the material and technical foundations of society. The acceleration of scientific and technical progress is the basic lever for national economic intensification and enhanced efficiency and, consequently, for most important social changes.

The imperative demand of the present is to reach the cutting edge of labor productivity, production quality and overall efficiency of output within a short historical time. The acceleration of scientific and technical progress is related to a broad range of current and long-term problems--economic, organizational and social. Their solution presumes, above all, the progress of science itself and the further development of a culture and the educational system, perfecting the activities of planning and management bodies and all economic units, and the interested participation of each collective and every party member and Soviet person. The party calls for making a sharp turn from sluggish and unsystematic utilization of scientific and technical achievements in production to the mass application of equipment and technology capable of revolutionizing it. A profound breakthrough must be made along the entire front of scientific and technical progress.

It is clear that time and substantial funds will be required in order to solve such a vast problem. In the first stage of the struggle for a faster economic development we can and must achieve a substantial increment above all through the utilization of immediately available reserves, such as bringing order, and upgrading labor, technological and state discipline. A great deal has been done already in recent times in this area through the efforts of the party, the government and the entire people. However, the thought of the need to bring truly socialist social order in all sectors, persistently mentioned in the book, retains its full relevance. The Soviet people, the author emphasizes, have a broad view of order, including in it order in production and services, in social and daily life, in each labor cell and in each city and village (see p 18).

Order means high level organization and discipline in labor and production, dictated by their present socialization standard. It means strictest possible responsibility for assignments and everyone's conscientious fulfillment of direct obligations. It means the highest possible exigency toward oneself and others, a strictest possible regimen of economy and thrifty expenditure of resources, a truly personal attitude toward socialist property and clearly organized control and verification of execution.

Order means strict observance of the principles of social justice, above all that of distribution according to labor. It means purging the distribution mechanism from equalization and a decisive struggle against unearned income, drunkenness and anything which conflicts with the economic and legal standards and moral ideals in our society. Order means waging an equally decisive struggle against any slackness and tolerance, Manilovism, formalism, bureaucratism, red tape, paper shuffling, petty regulations, excessive organization and restricting local initiative, which Lenin valued so highly, and any manifestations of ostentatious efficiency. Real rather than fictitious socialist order presumes unity of effort by the center and the local areas, flexibility in economic management methods and broadest possible development of mass initiatives. Finally, order means the organized work of the entire social organism as a whole and each one of its "cells," and the type of management which ensures the priority of national and state interests and erects an insurmountable barrier on the path of departmentalism and parochialism and all kinds of parasitical feelings and attempts to "extract"

from the state greater resources while obtaining reduced production programs. It is from this viewpoint that the author offers a sharp critical analysis of the actual state of affairs in the various areas, sectors, associations and enterprises and spheres of social life. Such an analysis directs our cadres to take everything possible from the best possible organization, the high responsibility and conscientious attitude of the working people toward their work in order to accelerate our development and steadily upgrade the people's well-being.

The most important acceleration factor is the restructuring of economic management. "The party," the author emphasizes, "has charted a course toward the creation of an integral national economic management system on the basis of principles inherent in socialism. Our approach is that of utilizing the advantages of the planned development of the socialist economy" (p 175). This is also the Leninist approach. The strategy of improved management includes Lenin's idea that "socialism must achieve this progress in its own way, through its own methods or, to put it more specifically, through Soviet methods" (op. cit., vol 36, p 178). This means that not the market, not the elements but, above all, the plan must determine the basic aspects of development of the national economy. At the same time, new approaches must be taken to planning. Economic levers must be actively used and greater scope must be given to the initiative of labor collectives (see p 175).

The most important theme in the book is that of concern for the person, the theme of a strong social policy. Enhancing material well-being, improving the people's working and living conditions, perfecting all social relations, economic above all, surmounting in their essential features class contradictions within the historical framework of socialism, strengthening the unbreakable alliance among the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the people's intelligentsia, fraternal cooperation among all nations and nationalities in the country and their blossoming and rapprochement and enriching the spiritual world of the Soviet person are both the target and a powerful means of acceleration of societal socioeconomic development.

The materials in the book clearly confirm the party's firm resolve to pursue this line purposefully and energetically, formulating the strictest possible requirements to party, soviet and economic managers, for "the attitude toward the people and concern for the people is the main problem of our policy" (p 244). "The party committees," the author notes, "must promptly react to social problems and not yield to any type of single 'projects' in which all emphasis is on production, leaving the person somehow outside the range of attention" (pp 244-245). The contemporary technical working and living facilities, the construction of housing and its just allocation, the urbanization of town and country, improved health care and the development of education, science and culture must all constantly remain the focal points of attention of party organizations, soviets, trade unions and public organization.

The agroindustrial complex and the implementation of the Food Program play a particular role in resolving imminent economic and social problems. The party line of accelerated socioeconomic development of the country is being steadily followed in the book and in discussion on the type of economic, social,

political, organizational, scientific and technological problems the solution of which determines radical improvements in work efficiency by agricultural workers and industrial sectors related to agriculture. The creation of a reliable food base is considered by the author a party-wide, a national task, an urgent matter requiring particular attention. This requires the concentration of all of our possibilities, including the growing potential of public farming in sovkhozes and kolkhozes, the agroindustrial complex as a whole, the auxiliary farms of enterprises and the contribution which the private auxiliary farms of citizens make to the country's food stock.

The all-round development of the social activeness of the working people is a decisive prerequisite for our dynamic progress. The development of the political system of Soviet society and the broadening and intensification of socialist democracy and increasing socialist self-management by the people create conditions for the daily, energetic and efficient participation of the working people and their collectives and organizations in resolving problems of state and social life. The party is the nucleus of our political system. The party organizations must head and direct the development of the democratic initiative of the masses. They must note everything that is new and progressive and born of practical experience. The materials included in the book convincingly prove the extent of the real possibilities of intensifying the democratic nature of the socialist system. They are found at each level of our political system: the means and methods of work of the soviets, the trade unions, the Komsomol and other social organizations, which have already been time-tested, and the new means and methods of this work, which are currently undergoing the test of mass creativity. They are being given the green light by labor collectives, brigades and rural rallies. "Each real step in increasing publicity, intensifying control from below and increasing the democratic principles governing the activities of all state and public organizations is valuable" (pp 360-361).

There is no single major problem the solution of which is not related by the author to improvements in ideological work. The strengthening of this tie is the crux of the changes which must unquestionably be made today in ideological-moral and political upbringing. Through all of its forms it must be maximally related to life and comprehensively contribute to the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development. This cannot be accomplished, the author emphasizes, without the comprehensive consideration of the sum total of conditions governing domestic life and without the specifics of the international situation. In propaganda and ideological work as a whole there should be no place for verbiage, edification and formalism. Like anywhere else, here as well there should be less words and more actions (see p 21). This is a particularly difficult task, for to the ideological worker in frequent cases words mean actions. However, these must be words filled with a profound vital meaning, words which inspire and mobilize and which ensure the direct link between theory and practice and ideas with the real actions of the people. "It is only through a well-planned economic strategy, strong social policy and purposeful ideological education, taken in their inseparable unity, that the human factor, without which no single one of the formulated problems can be resolved, can be energized" (p 361).

However disparate the range of problems considered by the author may be--the traditions of the October Revolution or the exploit of Stakhanovites, the heroes of the great victory or the petroleum workers in Tyumen, the metallurgical workers in Dnepropetrovsk, the grain growers in the virgin land, our current concerns or our future plans--the entire content of the book is imbued with faith in the creative forces of the people and in their intelligence, talent and toil.

The thought that the people are the makers of history is inseparable from that of the party, of upgrading its vanguard and leading role in society. Having charted a course of accelerated socioeconomic development of the country and of achieving a qualitatively new status of society, the party has made a responsible historical choice actively supported by the people. It is the duty of the Communist Party, the author states, to justify the confidence in it and to prove that it is undertaking this project most earnestly.

The scale, depth and complexity of the tasks formulated by life raise new and strict requirements concerning the level of party leadership. It is precisely the party committees, primary party organizations and all party members who bear the main responsibility for the steadfast implementation of the innovative course formulated at the April plenum. "...We proved to the workers through actions rather than words," Lenin said, "that the party is something one of a kind, that it needs conscientious people ready for self-sacrifice, that it makes errors but corrects them, that it leads and selects people who are aware of the path to be covered and the obstacles we must surmount" (op. cit., vol 42, p 252). "It is the behavior of the party members and leading cadres," the author notes, "which marks the beginning of discipline, and the assertion of our morality and responsible attitude toward the work. They must set the example in all of this" (p 253).

Sincerity in politics decisively depends on the party members bolshevik principle-mindedness, frankness and straightforwardness toward himself and his party comrades, the proper organization of criticism and self-criticism in each party organization and the strict observance by all party members of the Leninist norms of party life. "It is necessary," the author says in this connection, "to make stricter demands on every party member concerning his attitude toward social duty and the implementation of party decisions and to uphold the honest and pure features of the party member" (p 19).

In resolving imminent cadre problems today, the party is strictly guided by the Leninist principles of the choice, placement and upbringing of the personnel, bearing in mind that leading positions must be held by people who are ideologically convinced, competent, initiative-minded, responsible and honest, people who enjoy the trust of the collectives they head. Trust in cadres does not exclude but, to the contrary, presumes high exigency toward them and constant supervision: "No single party organization or worker can remain outside control" (ibid.).

Party work means creative work. It is on this basis that the author considers a broad range of problems of perfecting the style of party activities, forms and methods. The party bodies--central and local--must engage in active

creative search for new means of organizational, economic and ideological work, guided by a political approach to the matter and clearly distinguishing among the functions of the various management bodies.

The party worker must always be in the thick of the masses. In order to earn a reputation in their eyes, the manager must act as the author stipulates: "Less words, assertions and promises and more real actions, practical results, responsibility, principle-mindedness, organization in the work, attention to people and personal modesty..." (p 54). This is the principal measure used in assessing all cadres, their idea-mindedness and competence. It is the essence of party requirements concerning work style and methods.

The domestic policy of the Communist Party and Soviet state is inseparable from their peaceable foreign policy course. This course is based on the Leninist idea of peaceful coexistence among countries with opposite social systems and the streamlined party concept of asserting peace on earth and ensuring the national liberation of the peoples and social progress. The peace course is defined by the humanistic nature of our social system, our class morality and outlook.

The book reflects the tireless initiative in the activities of the Communist Party and the Soviet state aimed at putting an end to the arms race, halting the sliding toward war and lifting the threat of nuclear catastrophe. It rests on the theoretical analysis of the basic trends in global developments and the real contradictions existing in the contemporary world. On the one hand, this means the further strengthening of the positions of socialism, the growth of its prestige and influence and the enhanced role of the people's masses working for a renovation of life on the basis of just principles; on the other, it means increasing the counteraction to the reactionary and aggressive forces of imperialism with positive changes in the world. For one side this means strengthening the potential for peace, which unites the socialist countries, the international worker and communist movements, dozens of new independent countries and broad antiwar movements; for the other, it means a policy of social revenge based on eliminating the existing parity, achieving military superiority over socialism, suppressing the force of progressive and liberation movements and engaging in an arms race on earth and attempting to move it to outer space.

International development has reached a level at which urgent decisions must be made in order not to lose control over dangerous processes which threaten the very existence of mankind. Curbing the forces of militarism and war and ensuring a durable peace and reliable security are basic problems of our time.

In implementing its firm foreign policy line, the party relies on the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the contemporary age, formulating new approaches to the solution of vitally important problems and taking into consideration the entire variety of social and political forces operating in the world arena and displaying flexibility and patience.

Soviet foreign policy is sincere, honest and consistent. It contains no puzzling or undefined features. Last year our country formulated a number of major initiatives dictated by an awareness of its highest possible

responsibility for the fate of mankind and concern for its future. Their culmination was the Soviet-American summit meeting in Geneva, which has had a restraining influence on the raise of the dangerous tension in the world.

The United Nations has proclaimed 1986 a year of peace. "We in the Soviet Union," M.S. Gorbachev said in his New Year address to the Soviet people, "are in favor of making this year of peace a decade of peace, so that mankind could enter the 21st Century under conditions of peace, confidence and cooperation."

We are continuing to increase our contribution to the strengthening of peace on earth. The far-reaching constructive suggestions made by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, carried in the declaration published in this issue, of liberating mankind from the fear of nuclear catastrophe truly confirm the fact that mankind could enter the new stage already free from nuclear and other mass destruction weapons and without the threat of doom. The world expects a convincing answer to these suggestions from the other side.

Major and difficult problems face the Leninist party and the Soviet people. However, the efforts of path-blazers have never been easy. "We have the necessary strength and firmness to make words match our deeds, relying on the live creativity of the people and by strengthening the alliance between science and labor" (p 136).

We, this generation, have the difficult fortune of waging a struggle for the reorganization of life on truly humanistic, collectivistic and communist principles, for peace and the bright future of all mankind. Essentially, the book by M.S. Gorbachev is about this, our common difficult fortune.

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TOWARDS THE 27TH PARTY CONGRESS--DISCUSSION OF CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE DRAFTS

DARING, HONESTY, RESPONSIBILITY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 86 (signed to press 22 Jan 86) pp 23-34

[Article by K. Vayno, first secretary of the Estonian CP Central Committee]

[Text] Such are the requirements which face all of us at this moment. It is natural for the word "moment," which can be easily found in V.I. Lenin's political dictionary, to have once again gained extensive daily use after the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. It is as though it reminds the living of the days of the October Revolution, filled with revolutionary daring, when the building of a new social system was undertaken.

The "mandatory list" of political, practical and moral qualities which determine the appearance of our cadres, their style of activities and their entire way of life is refined and supplemented by time itself. Today the demand made of every working person--from simple worker to minister--doubles and triples. The reason is understandable: the successful implementation of the strategy formulated by the party for accelerating the country's socioeconomic development decisively depends on the creative attitude of millions of people toward their work.

The search for the shortest and most efficient ways, means and methods for the implementation of this strategy has largely determined the course, nature and content of the accountability and election campaign in the party and the party and nationwide discussion of the precongress documents.

This was the subject of the thoughts expressed by Karl Genrikhovich Vayno, head of the Estonian party organization, in a discussion held with V. Kadulin, this journal's special correspondent, at the end of last year.

[Question] At the point where the 11th and 12th 5-year plans cross, on the eve of the 19th Congress of the CP of Estonia and the 27th CPSU Congress, the traditional question of what have the party members and all working people in the republic been able to accomplish last year and over the past 5 years is, I believe, particularly relevant. In this connection, what do you consider worth telling the readers of KOMMUNIST?

[Answer] The new does not grow in a vacuum. That is why it makes sense to look back, to sum up, even if most briefly, the results of accomplishments during the 11th 5-year plan, which is already history. We can note with satisfaction that, as a whole, it was successful in our republic. We were able to resolve the main problems set in the 5-year plan and make substantial progress in our socioeconomic development.

The republic fulfilled its 11th 5-year plan ahead of schedule in terms of the growth rates of the volume of industrial output. In 5 years the output of superior quality goods increased by more than one-half, substantially outstripping the growth of industrial output as a whole. The share of items bearing the Emblem of Quality in the overall volume of output subject to certification increased noticeably. In terms of this indicator we range fifth among union republics.

The radical reconstruction of our largest light industry enterprise--the Krengolmskaya Manufaktura Cotton Fabrics Combine, is nearing completion. A new factory for high-quality fashionable shoes, equipped with progressive facilities, was commissioned in Tallin. A factory for built-in and kitchen furniture is being built in Kokhtla-Yarve. Therefore, priority is being given to the development of consumer good sectors. Of late the production of such goods in our republic has been growing at a faster pace.

Let us consider now the main, the summing up indicator of national economic efficiency--the generated national income. In the past 5 years it showed a 16.4 percent increase in the republic instead of 15 percent as planned.

The fact that virtually the entire increase in the national income generated by the republic's national economy was the result of higher labor productivity is of essential significance to us. In other words, economic growth was achieved with the same amount of manpower and without involving additional labor in material production. In industry manpower has even declined somewhat. Thanks to the more economical utilization of resources in all production units and a more efficient organization, the share of material outlays in the public product, including amortization, declined during the 11th 5-year plan.

Capital construction in our republic has been more successful than ever before. For the first time, the annual volume of utilized capital investments has exceeded 1 billion rubles in our territorially and numerically small republic. We have largely been able to surmount an ancient ill, such as the dispersal of forces and funds among a number of simultaneously built projects. The efforts were concentrated on target construction projects of decisive importance to the Estonian economy. As a result, completion time for projects has been reduced by more than 1 year on an average.

Agriculture plays an important role in the republic's economy. Following the decline which took place at the beginning of the 5-year plan as a result of extremely bad weather conditions, the rural workers were largely able to catch up. Annual milk production in the public sector exceeded 1 million tons. In 1985 our livestock breeders were able to reach a level toward which they had long aspired: to obtain an average of 4,000 kilograms of milk per cow. In the last 5 years, the average weight per head of cattle sold to the state reached 430 kilograms. The fodder base in animal husbandry strengthened substantially and the crop structure improved. Agricultural intensiveness increased. The percentage of direct outlays, including manpower, in the production cost of agricultural commodities in our republic today is among the lowest in the country.

One of the prerequisites for successes, whether mentioned here or not, achieved by the Estonian rural workers was, unquestionably, the new system of managing the republic's agroindustrial complex. The experiment taking place in the republic with the approval of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo proved to be entirely justified. Farming indicators improved substantially. Today there is no unprofitable farm in Estonia, there is no kolkhoz or sovkhoz in which average annual milk yields are under 3,000 kilograms. During the first 2 years of the existence of Agroprom alone, gross agricultural output increased by 11 percent compared with the previous 2 years.

I would consider among the most important changes which have taken place of late in the republic's life the halt in the flow of the rural population to the cities. The lengthy and extremely painful process which threatened to exceed a dangerous, a critical threshold, was finally stopped. For the past 2 years the size of the rural population has been growing, albeit slowly. What is behind this change? The rural workers income has substantially increased in recent years and their working and living conditions have improved sharply. Rural standards are becoming qualitatively different. All of this improves the overall atmosphere of rural life and enhances the prestige of rural work among the republic's young people and the entire population.

[Question] In your view, what is the main new aspect of the present and on the solution of what problems is the republic party organization currently focusing its efforts?

[Answer] Each period has its distinguishing features. Unquestionably, 1985 will leave a vivid impression in our minds. To a large extent it became a turning point in the life of the party and the people. A number of entirely convincing proofs show that the results of the March, April and October CPSU Central Committee Plenums were welcomed in the republic, as in the country at large, with a tremendous upsurge and deep satisfaction.

Let me put it this way: there are few periods I can recall in my conscious life in which workers, kolkhoz members and members of the intelligentsia have supported the party's course and its leaders with such undivided enthusiasm and so unconditionally and tangibly, and followed each one of its new initiatives with such great interest.

We, the party members, all of us together and everyone separately, cannot, have not the right to betray these hopes and expectations even in petty matters. We must repay in full and exactly on time the loan of trust which the masses gave us so generously. However, it is not merely a matter of increased responsibility of the party to the people. It would be unforgivable political tolerance to fail to make full use of the increased social activeness of the working people, their businesslike mood and their constructive thrust.

The time demands of us daring solutions and energetic actions. We must learn how to think and work in a new fashion. We must not only want and aspire but be able to complete any project we initiate. All of these may seem like simple truths. They are easily memorized. With a certain amount of skill they can be easily proclaimed. What is more difficult is to understand them truly and master them profoundly. It is even more difficult yet much more useful to apply them strictly in practical work.

Let us go back to the economy. In Lenin's words, this is "the policy which interests us most," the main field in the battle for communism. The republic's party organization and working people face a number of very difficult problems in this connection. Their novelty and complexity are determined by the conditions under which we shall have to work in the forthcoming years in implementing the resolutions of the 27th party congress.

First of all, this applies to the insignificant increase in the able-bodied population. It will be lower than in the past 5 years. Therefore, in implementing stressed planned assignments we shall have to continue to rely only on higher labor productivity. There is simply no other way. It will be necessary to carry out a new technical reconstruction of the production process, to perfect its organization and to reduce the share of workers engaged in underproductive manual labor.

Secondly, our economy has entered a period of development in which the limited nature of material resources must be taken increasingly into consideration. In the new 5-year plan, the workers in the republic's national economy must substantially lower fuel, energy, raw material and material outlays. This is the most difficult problem to resolve, requiring both technical and psychological restructuring. We must learn how to be thrifty, daringly applying the experience of the best labor collectives in the republic and of our close and distant neighbors. We must apply cost accounting more decisively in the work of the various public production units.

Thirdly, we must most closely link production with science. This is no simple task for the republic's national economy in which small enterprises predominate. In order to ensure its successful implementation, we intend to enhance even further the role of republic ministries and departments as the main headquarters of scientific and technical progress. Interesting experience in setting and enhancing the creative tone of experimental, research and design subunits and training centers has been acquired in our republic, in particular by the republic's Ministry of Light Industry and the Ministry of the Timber and Wood Processing Industry.

One of the most important prerequisites in resolving this problem is for every engineer, designer and scientist to become a truly creative worker. To this effect we intend to continue the development of the patent service and comprehensively to stimulate the creative work of inventors and rationalizers. In recent years the economic benefits from the application of inventions and rationalization suggestions in the republic has been growing. The local VOIR departments have been working energetically. Their best activists are awarded titles such as "Deserving Inventor of the Estonian SSR," and "Deserving Rationalizer of the Estonian SSR." These titles enjoy high prestige. In the past inventors and rationalizers worked like private craftsmen. Now we are setting up special creative brigades which include engineers and workers. Such brigades are successfully working in many of our enterprises, helping us to materialize any useful idea. Lists of bottlenecks to be eliminated may be found everywhere. The planning of scientific and technical research has proved entirely justified.

The need to energize such efforts is triggered also by the fact that the level of intensification reached by the Estonian economy is quite high. For example, our rural workers are finding it increasingly difficult to increase by 1 percent the growth of output with every passing year. The content of such a percentage itself has become quite different. The old approaches, when we were dealing with reserves found on the surface, no longer yield desired results. Obviously, new ways must be sought. They are indicated by the experience of our best farms, the developments of scientific research institutes and the practices of some foreign countries.

For example, in order to reach the planned figures for milk production and purchases set for 1990 without particularly increasing the herds, we shall have to reach an average milk production per cow of 4,300 kilograms annually. This task cannot be met without strengthening even further our domestic feed base and without resolving the problem of protein and balanced rations. Selection is yet another component for intensification which is assuming priority. We must most seriously undertake to upgrade the strains of grain crops and vegetables, potatoes above all, and to improve cattle breeds. The extensive application of intensive technologies will require an entire set of economic, social and organizational measures. We are setting the task of having each farm formulate a thoroughly tested development strategy.

The housing problem, which is an unusually important socioeconomic question, must be resolved in the 12th 5-year plan quite differently. We cannot say that we built little in previous years. In the past 5 years per capita housing space increased from 17.9 to 20 square meters. During the same period a total of 3.9 million square meters of housing were built in the republic or 89,000 square meters more than during the 9th 5-year plan period. Nevertheless, the problem remains acute. During the new 5-year period, based on real possibilities, the volume of housing construction will remain the same. However, substantial changes will take place in its structure. The share of cooperative and individual housing construction will increase. We intend to do everything possible to encourage the participation of the people who need to improve their housing conditions and are seeking new means for such participation. Greater attention than in the past must be paid to house repairs. Streamlining housing allocations is no less important.

Naturally, the full implementation of our plans will require a certain amount of time. Haste is harmful whatever the project. However, nor do we have the right to linger. A substantial amount of time has passed since the April plenum and the June conference of the CPSU Central Committee on problems of accelerating scientific and technical progress. The time has come to report past and present accomplishments in the implementation of the party's decisions. Nonetheless, some senior personnel in the republic continue to "set tasks," and proclaim firm slogans instead of doing the work.

[Question] What could you say about the psychological restructuring of cadres in the republic, the need for which the party reminds us constantly?

[Answer] I believe that such a restructuring of the mind of the people must be as profound as the restructuring in the national economy. One is inseparable from the other. It is no secret, however, that our cadres include people who are not in a hurry to learn how to think and work in a novel fashion. They slyly rely on the fact that appeals to improve work style and methods will turn into one more campaign, as has sometimes been the case in the past. They obviously do not object for everything to go on as it did 5, 10 or 15 years ago. Such people do not change but adapt to the requirements of the time.

In this connection, I must frankly say that we are severely slowed down by enterprises under union administration. No sectorial management of such enterprises may be found on Estonian territory. Furthermore, to a number of central sectorial headquarters, the modest volumes of output of Estonian plants and associations are of no particular interest. However, the republic's party organization cannot fail to be affected by breakdowns in their production activities, with all the material and moral losses this entails. We must find effective means of influencing their work.

For example, T. Uffert, city party committee member and director of the Electrical Engineering Plant imeni Pegelman, and other heads of enterprises and public organizations were justly criticized at the Tallin city accountability and election conference. They were criticized for their inertia, slowness in resolving problems of technical retooling and replacing obsolete equipment and commissioning new capacities.

Unquestionably, the respective all-union production associations and union ministries bear a certain share of responsibility for the technical lagging of plants and many other industrial enterprises located in the republic's capital. However, also guilty in this respect are the Tallin gorkom and raykoms and, finally, the CP of Estonia Central Committee industry department. Until recently they did not study all that profoundly the work of "unsuccessful" enterprises and production associations, and placed few demands on their managers and party committee secretaries. To this day, some of our party and economic workers continue to rely on the arrival of a "sugar daddy" from Moscow, such as a deputy minister who, it is hoped, will instantly resolve all difficult problems which have taken years to accumulate. A certain share of the blame is carried by the CP of Estonia Central Committee Secretariat as well. Although repeatedly criticizing the state of affairs at

such enterprises, it has been unable effectively to help their collectives to organize normal work.

Unfortunately, a number of amateurs have appeared in the republic who like discussing scientific and technical progress exclusively on a global scale. Some have become accustomed to justifying their own inactivity by citing a variety of objective difficulties which allegedly block progressive decisions. We hear at each step complaints about well-familiar excesses in the economic mechanism, insufficient autonomy, petty supervision, etc.

Naturally, the economic mechanism needs the fastest possible decisive improvement. This has long been a topic of discussion, and work in this direction has been started. However, we must also eliminate the inertia of stereotypes of economic management which have taken years to develop, and reject the burden of morally obsolete views and prejudices.

We know, for example, how long and persistently enterprise managers have demanded the right to control wage supplements to workers and engineering and technical personnel and employees within the limits of the stipulated wage fund. The right to such wage supplements, based on professional skill, skill rating and individual contribution was granted to 53 republic enterprises as part of the large-scale economic experiment launched in the country.

Let me point out that a number of economic managers have handled this right by no means in the best possible way. Let me cite as proof the very inept but quite typical experience of the Estoplast Plant. The plant granted supplements to one-half of the engineering and technical personnel and employees and only to 6 percent of hourly workers. Governed by the comprehensively "convenient" principle of "something for everybody," they raised the wages of some workers. This type of equalization, however, marked the death of a good, a promising idea. What this means is that in words everyone is in favor of the new but in practice many continue to follow the old ways.

[Question] But today's life in the republic would probably offer many examples of a truly new, truly creative approach to the work.

[Answer] Naturally. Let me mention the name of Oleg Gennadiyevich Klushin, general director of the Krengolmskaya Manufactura Combine. This enterprise is well-known in the republic for its production accomplishments. This is largely explained by the personality of the director himself, and his work style. Characteristic of Klushin are a profound knowledge of the production process, an acute feeling for the new and the ability to instill in the people faith in the successful outcome of a project. At the combine, as I already mentioned, extensive reconstruction is underway without any interruption in the production process or any lowering of its pace.

I must also mention at this point the work style which has been established at the base-demonstration kolkhoz imeni S.M. Kirov. This farm has been headed by Oskar Kuul, Hero of Socialist Labor and USSR Supreme Soviet deputy.

This famous farm is engaged in fishing and fish processing and breeding, rainbow trout in particular. The kolkhoz repairs its own fishing vessels and produces nonstandard equipment designed by the local design bureau. The construction of new production premises and housing is the work of the kolkhoz's construction-repair office. This multisectional farm, which employs today approximately 6,000 people, has essentially become a type of agroindustrial combine.

Of late the kolkhoz has gone into animal husbandry in earnest and things showed an immediate improvement in the chronically lagging farm which was assigned to the Kirov collective. Without any prompting, orders from above or a planned assignment, the Kirov people took up and mastered the production of high quality shampoo from fish processing waste. They themselves developed a technology which no one was willing to master. They used the help of scientists. Once again displaying economic gumption and socialist enterprise, which are so greatly needed today, the members of this famous kolkhoz organized the manufacturing of albuminous paste and a rich substitute for crab meat and the production of glue from cod skin.

The kolkhozes net income exceeds 20 million rubles. This allows it not only to pay high wages to kolkhoz members but also to increase social consumption funds.... It is no accident that after visiting the kolkhoz, many guests of the republic state that its members live almost as if under total communism.

However, I shall not conceal the fact that those same guests and some local officials occasionally ask: does the kolkhoz imeni S.M. Kirov not pursue profits excessively? Yes, everything new that the farm undertakes turns out to be profitable. However, that is precisely the way it should be. It is profitable to the kolkhoz and profitable to the state. It is profitable to all of us, for today we are able to purchase in the stores tasty and nutritive products and good quality household items which were either in short supply or totally unavailable in the past.

In my view, it was Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov who assessed most accurately the Kirov economic gumption. Here is what he wrote in 1973 in the book of the guests of honor: "Excellent proof of the force of the kolkhoz system. Your kolkhoz imeni Kirov is progressive. In the future, all kolkhozes in our country will be like this one. Your great merit is also that you are proving what collective work under socialism can give the peasants."

There is virtually no need to reorganize the managers of whom I spoke. Much earlier than others, without waiting for instructions from above, rolling up their sleeves, they are making a technical revolution in their specific enterprise or farm. For the time being, according to the most accurate estimates, there are dozens of such people in the republic. However, already now we need hundreds and thousands like them, literally possessed by the scientific and technical revolution and the qualitative renovation of our life and able to organize the work in a new style.

We have frequently had the occasion to speak and write about one such worker. He is Valter Udam, first secretary of the Pyarnuskiy Rayon party committee, recently awarded the title Hero of Socialist Labor. As an 18-year-old

adolescent he took part in the battles against the fascist occupation forces. After the war he did Komsomol and party work in the countryside. In 1970 he became the head of the Vilyandiskiy Rayon party organization. In that position Comrade Udam initiated the creation of the essentially first cost-accounting rayon agroindustrial association in the country. Moving to the neighboring Pyarnuskiy Rayon, one of the most difficult in the republic, he continued with the work he had started in Vilyanda. Today, despite its poor-quality soil, Pyarnuskiy Rayon is one of the best in Estonia.

Where does Udam's strength come from? Let me try to explain it. No, he is not an orator. Honestly speaking, Valter has not learned how to become an effective public speaker. He lacks the showy firmness and deliberate harshness which distinguish some leading comrades. However, he is rich in spiritual warmth and charm. An inner fire burns in Udam, a fire which attracts people.

The reason I speak about Valter Udam at such length is that he is the doyen of the first secretaries of rayon party committees. Others learn from Valter and apply the example he sets. This is quite important, for it is on the rayon level that the fate of the most important party stipulations is largely decided, and that the practical implementation of party's political course, including the Food Program, takes place.

To me personally, Udam embodies the contemporary type of party worker. I shall not claim that people like he are ideal, the embodiment of perfection. Everyone has shortcomings which sometimes must be pointed out most strictly. Incidentally, this was precisely what the CP of Estonia Central Committee Buro did once in Valter Udam's case. This happened several years ago, when the rayon party committee he headed displayed liberalism toward the former secretary of the party organization at the Kaysma Kolkhoz. Acting as a go-between in the selling of passenger cars, this intrigue-maker was able to pocket a substantial amount of money as "commission." Although this swindler was criminally indicted, the raykom buro, which discussed his personal case, merely entered a strict reprimand in his record....

Yes, we, communists, favor a good, a sensitive and attentive attitude toward people and party comrades. However, we have no right to be good toward those who break the law, who stain the honest and pure title of party member.

[Question] Of late we have noticed a substantial enhancement in the moral tone of social life. Where, in your view, are the main sources and what is the significance of this process?

[Answer] Unquestionably, the November 1982, June 1983 and April 1985 CPSU Central Committee plenums had a beneficial influence on the development of this process. Incidentally, this is one of the many specific examples of the continuity of the party's general line, aimed at the comprehensive development of socialism. Naturally, the enhancement of the moral tone of society is also related to the further democratization of our entire life, the increased role of labor collectives and their economic independence. The more educated and knowledgeable our people become, the less tolerant they are of any deviations from the legal norms of socialist community life.

The area of social behavior and moral relations among people has always been, as we know, a sensitive barometer of the spiritual health of society. The fact that today we are watching particularly closely the readings of this barometer, making corresponding changes in our organizational and educational work, merely confirms the strength of our system and the purity of communist morality which must be rid of anything alien, of any encrustation.

We have no rights to forget even for a minute that the work style of a party in power and the nature of our internal reciprocal relations invariably affect all areas of social life. That is why every party member and each party organization must set a model of crystal purity and honesty and a high example of totally unstained communist morality. The demands made of the party leader are particularly strict. All of his steps and acts are always public. The higher his position, the greater his responsibility. He must prove his moral rights to be a leader, to lead people, every day and every hour, through his personal behavior.

That is why it is so important to create and maintain an atmosphere of high principle-mindedness and mutual exigency within each party organization. Unfortunately, some shameful facts do take place, such as when a seemingly good worker commits an act which shames the party. It may initially appear as though such degradation has taken place suddenly, unexpectedly. A deeper study, however, would show that it actually began a while back. Its symptoms as well can be seen quite clearly. They were noted by others who, for one reason or another, ignored them. Had they issued a timely warning to this person, who had begun to forget the norms of party ethics and the requirements of the statutes, had they told him the truth in his face, honestly and bluntly, it is quite certain that he would not have fallen out of the party.

Several years ago, the CP of Estonia Central Committee made a special study of the practice of reviewing the personal files of party members who had been criminally indicted, by the party committees. The Central Committee Secretariat made it incumbent upon the party gorkoms and raykoms to put an end to the faulty practice of protecting such individuals and strictly to apply the stipulations of the party statutes. The strictness and inevitability of punishment is one more educational measure, quite effective at that.

The means of further strengthening party and state discipline in all sectors of socialist construction and intensifying the struggle for the strict and comprehensive observance of the norms of party life were extensively discussed in the spring of 1985 in Tallin, at a republic seminar-conference. The participants in the seminar mentioned with concern that some party organizations had adopted an extremely lighthanded and even unprincipled attitude toward problems of selection and acceptance of new party members. Defective goods, as we know, are bad wherever used. In the case of party ranks, however, defects are totally inadmissible.

In 1983, for example, only 15 percent of the personal files of individuals held accountable by the party were considered first by the primary organization. The share of such cases reached 50 percent in 1984 and 70 percent in 1985. This is quite important, above all because a resolution

adopted "behind closed doors," does not reach its main purpose, which is to have an educational impact on all party members in the organization. Furthermore, decisions made in this manner give grounds for all kinds of rumors and misinterpretations about indulgences which are allegedly granted to party members guilty of delinquencies. They nurture the philistine view harmful to the reputation of the party and the Soviet system that there are two disciplines in our society: one for ordinary citizens and another for senior workers; one for party members and another for non-party members.

For a while cases of abuse of official position and economic acquisitiveness were not countered by a sufficiently exigent party assessment. In particular, the CP of Estonia Central Committee Buro passed a special decree condemning shortcomings and distortions in the organization of collective gardening and dacha building in the republic. The necessary steps were taken to correct the situation. A number of managers were given party punishment or relieved from their positions for gross errors in solving dacha construction problems.

Of late we have mounted most seriously a struggle against drunkenness. We are pleased to realize that in literally a few months the number of delinquencies caused by drunkenness has been reduced sharply and that the number of party and Komsomol members sent to sobering-up stations has declined. Frankly speaking, it is not easy for some party member, including senior personnel, to abandon their tolerance of various drinking customs. It took a long time for many of them, for example, to reject the idea that there was nothing reprehensible for collectives to celebrate birthdays and other anniversaries with drunken bouts, or that alcoholic beverages could be sold in refreshment premises or cafeterias. We closely relate the struggle against drunkenness with the organization of a healthy and interesting recreation for the working people and the sensible utilization of their leisure time. It would be suitable, in this connection, to say something about collective gardening. To consider this under our Soviet conditions a private-ownership activity is a most profound error. It is precisely this that largely solves the problem of active recreation for the working people and the bringing up of children. It is here that they develop their initial labor skills and begin to love the land and nature. We consider gardening a topical socioeconomic task.

We must learn how to make more strictly accountable than in the past those who wittingly or unwittingly helped to promote rascals, bribe-takers, thieves, careerists and moral degenerates. Today we are blocking more firmly the efforts of individual managers to avoid criticism of themselves and the organizations they head, to escape social control or, to curtail it by all possible means. This improper stance can weaken the ties between party and people.

[Question] Could you, albeit it most briefly, describe for us the way the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Participation of Leading Cadres of the Estonian SSR in Political Education Work Among the Working People" is being implemented?

[Answer] At its August 1985 20th plenum, the CP of Estonia Central Committee discussed the tasks of the republic party organizations on further strengthening ties with the masses in the light of said decree. A number of

positive changes which had taken place in political education work since the decree were noted. Work on the practical implementation of the CPSU Central Committee decree beneficially affected the republic's sociopolitical and spiritual-moral atmosphere. The ties between party organizations and the broad toiling masses strengthened and the contribution of managers to political education increased substantially.

The advancement of socialism is impossible without the live creativity of the masses and the interest in and conscious attitude toward it on the part of millions of people. As we know, Lenin considered that as the main purpose of party ideological-political and organizational activities for party policy to become the personal objective of the working people. Nor should we forget that the new generations are entering life are comparing reality around them with the supreme socialist ideals. Nor are our class foes slumbering. They are trying to undermine the unity between party and people by all possible means. It was all of this that was taken into consideration by the CP of Estonia Central Committee Buro in organizing the implementation of the decree.

We can clearly see that the majority of our leading cadres have reorganized themselves from within. They have developed the need to be in constant touch with the labor collectives. They no longer fear wide audiences. Today they no longer meet with people because of specific instructions. They visit labor collectives because they themselves need such encounters.

Regular addresses by senior personnel during political days, which have been regularly held in our republic on a monthly basis for the last 7 years, have become a reliable protection from all sorts of rumors and misinterpretations. This is entirely explainable, for it is thus that the people are given answers to their questions from the most reliable and authoritative sources, first hand, as it were. This is extremely important in molding a proper public opinion. In turn, the leaders develop a more accurate idea of the mood of the people and their demands and needs. Naturally, matters are not limited to expressions of gratitude for criticism. Suggestions, should they be proper, must be supported and rated immediately after the opponent has spoken or else it must be clearly explained to him why he is wrong or the reason for which his suggestion is premature. All of this cannot be achieved immediately and by everyone. Without a dialogue, however, without reliable feedback no party work is possible.

So far, middle-level and low-level managers and members of the creative and scientific intelligentsia are not very actively participating in this dialogue. Educational work requires further differentiation, which could take into consideration the features of the various categories of working people. Great attention must be paid to small collectives and youth audiences. Currently we are giving a great deal of thought to how to increase the variety of presentations during policy days.

Interviews on personal matters, meetings, talks at work places and firsthand familiarity with the people's working and living conditions are a tried means of strengthening ties between leaders and masses. In this case the task is not only to define shortcomings, as is frequently the case, but mandatorily

find ways to eliminate them and offer the people prospects concerning their life and work. Briefly, we see to it that any visit to a labor collective by an official have an impact. Incidentally, this is the way a number of our senior personnel, such as ministers, and rayon party committee secretaries, act.

Round-table talks, held at some republic enterprises, have become a new form of publicity and involving the working people in social affairs and promoting their ideological upbringing.

Our television "Fora" and radio "Microfora" have now become traditional and developed into a republic-wide political rostrum. They enable thousands and thousands of people actively to participate in the discussion of governmental affairs alongside party workers and heads of ministries and departments. However, here as well a great deal could and should be done to upgrade the effectiveness of such programs. The same could be said about open-letter days, regularly sponsored by our republic and rayon press.

[Question] What was the role of the precongress accountability and election campaign in the psychological restructuring of cadres, improving their structure and perfecting the work style of the republic party organization?

[Answer] The accountability and election meetings in the Estonian party organization took place under the sign of preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress and the beneficial influence of the innovative ideas formulated at the April plenum. Judging by their overall level, the accountability and election meetings and conferences were more exigent, critical and aggressive than in the past. Frankly, without glossing over difficulties, the party members spoke of unresolved problems and negative phenomena and named by their names those guilty of errors and shortcomings. The attention was focused on upgrading the combativeness of all party units and strengthening the vanguard role the party members and their personal responsibility for the state of affairs in one sector or another.

More party members spoke out at meetings compared with the last accountability and election campaign; they voiced more than 26,000 critical remarks and suggestions. The discussion of the precongress documents by the party members and all Estonian working people was also efficient, principle-minded and constructive.

Positive changes have taken place in the elected aktiv. To begin with, it has been broadened significantly. More than 30,000 party members have become part of party organization managements. Secondly, this aktiv has become more representative. Nearly 39 percent of its membership consists of workers and kolkhoz members, and 36 percent are women. Thirdly, the practical skills of secretaries and their education standards have increased. More than 80 percent of the party members heading primary organizations have higher or secondary specialized training. The level of political standards of our party cadres is quite high. However, political knowledge is not something given to a party member once and for all. It does not come out of thin air. Like everything else in nature and society, such knowledge tolerates neither a vacuum nor stagnation. Every party member and manager must be able to grow in step with the faster pace.

Today we set to each party organization the following task: more and better than ever before to concern itself with the people and to see to it that everyone knows his work and carries out assignments honestly and with a full feeling of responsibility. Naturally, this is much more difficult than, for example, resolving purely technical problems. Here a great deal more nervous energy must be invested; principle-mindedness and firmness must be displayed and one must be well-familiar with what to teach the people. The world of human interrelationships is complex. Naturally, it is by no means a simple matter to understand the emotions and concerns of a labor collective. However, this cannot be avoided if a party organization is truly trying to organize united and initiative-minded work.

In thinking of the complexities of the psychological restructuring of cadres and of work style and methods, we must mention the threat of formalism and routine. This disease is manifested in overorganizing, which is a frequent feature of many party organization meetings, meaningless reports and loose resolutions impossible to verify subsequently. It is also manifested in the fear of some party organizations of unplanned speeches and of "unnecessary" statements which someone could make. Formalism is dangerous because in some cases timid economic requests and isolated suggestions are interpreted as criticism and self-criticism. It is also manifested in the superficial and thoughtless attitude applied in analyzing and assessing work results. The current accountability and election campaign was particularly helpful in clearly exposing such shortcomings.

For example, the Estremrybflot Association has been experiencing a severe breakdown for the past 3 years. Its planned assignments are not being met and ship-repair deadlines are being violated. The association's personnel themselves estimated that the state lost 8 million rubles' worth of output from failure to repair two trawlers on time alone. In the past 5-year period the association lost more than 750 cadre workers. The people quit dissatisfied with the organization of the work and the lack of attention paid to their needs. Nevertheless, the work of the enterprise's party committee was rated satisfactory at the accountability and election conference. What is this if not a formalistic approach! Do the association and its party committee work separately? Are their objectives different? In this situation the Kalininskiy Rayon party committee in Tallin as well did not behave entirely on a principle-minded basis. It should have intervened promptly in this development and annul the obviously erroneous resolution passed at the conference. However, all it did was to recommend that a new secretary of the association's party committee be elected.

We must intensify our struggle against all manifestations of formalism. Everything possible must be done to uproot this evil from the daily life of the party organizations. Formalism is by nature alien to a creative attitude toward the work, without which no progress is possible. In a word, one must work! One must work a great deal, boldly, honestly and responsibly.

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CSO: 1802/8

SOCIALIST SELF-GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 86 (signed to press 22 Jan 86) pp 35-45

[Article by I. Ilinskiy, doctor of juridical sciences, and I. Rozhko, candidate of juridical sciences]

[Text] The party's strategic course of planned and comprehensive advancement of socialism and the further progress of Soviet society toward communism on the basis of the country's accelerated socioeconomic development, were thoroughly substantiated in the CPSU precongress documents.

The solution of the grand tasks set by the party on the eve of its 27th congress urgently calls for energizing the entire system of political institutions and perfecting socialist democracy. The October 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum emphasized that without creating conditions for the daily, active and efficient participation of all working people and their collectives and organizations in resolving problems of governmental and social life we would be unable to advance successfully.

That is why the development of people's socialist self-government is an inseparable component of the CPSU's strategic course at the present stage. As the draft new edition of the party program stipulates, it is implemented through the extensive involvement of the citizens in the management of governmental and social affairs and production, in improving the activities of the elective ruling bodies, upgrading the role of the trade unions, the Komsomol and the other mass organizations of the working people and efficiently utilizing all forms of representative and direct democracy.

What is socialist self-government by the people? A most general definition would be the following: a type of democratic system for managing governmental and social affairs which operates not only for but also through the working people, i.e., with their direct and decisive participation. The appearance and development of such a system is predetermined, as was predicted by the founders of scientific communism, by the very nature of the new system. "The situation in which the people are ruled," K. Marx wrote, "should be replaced by the people's self-government" (see VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, no 2, 1968, p 80).

People's self-government is a Marxist-Leninist concept applicable to the entire communist system. The first phase of this single system is the

socialist self-government of the people. It is the predecessor of social communist self-government at the higher stage of the new system.

It was the victory of the Great October Revolution that laid the beginning of the implementation of the Marxist ideas that the power belongs to the working people, in which "government of the people develops through the people themselves" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 17, p 350). These Marxian ideas, based on the experience of the Paris Communards, were developed and concretized by V.I. Lenin, who discovered the republic of soviets as a form of government by workers and peasants. "The soviets of deputies," he wrote, "are a type of state in which...the people rule themselves..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 31, p 243).

The founders of scientific communism considered the transition to self-government by the working people a practical task of the proletariat the moment it assumed power. In their view, the essence of people's self-administration was the real, the practical participation of ever broader toiling masses in government--in the formulation, discussion and implementation of socioeconomic decisions. Lenin considered the first steps in involving the masses in the administration of the country an "immediate advance toward real people's self-government" (op. cit., vol 34, p 316).

Naturally, the socialist self-government of the people goes through a variety of stages and levels of maturity in its development. These stages and levels are determined by the main stages in the establishment and advancement of society, during which problems related to laying the foundations for socialism, its full and definitive victory, building a developed socialist society, and the planned and comprehensive determination of the advantages of socialism on the basis of accelerated socioeconomic progress, are resolved.

The historical experience of real socialism proves that in a truly democratic society the working people themselves manage governmental and social affairs through the organizations they create. Essentially, this also means that the people's self-government is inconceivable in an exploiting society in which the power and the main control strings are in the hands of the rich classes and their proteges.

In a developed socialist society the purpose of strengthening and developing people's self-government is, above all, to assist in the successful solution of the key problems of state, economic and sociocultural building, the intensification of democracy within the entire socialist political system and the comprehensive development of the working person. As the draft new edition of the CPSU program stipulates, the party wants the systematic application of the principles of socialist self-government in managing society and the state, i.e., that government not only to be in the interests of the working people but also, step by step and legitimately to become the work of the working people themselves who, as Lenin said, recognize no authority other than that of their own association.

On a national scale, the socialist self-government of the people is organized through the political system which ensures the identification and implementation of the will and interests of the various toiling strata and

their active participation in the administration of governmental and social affairs and the production process. Such participation takes place in the various units and on the different levels of the political system, such as soviets, public organizations, republics, krays, oblasts, okrugs, rayons, cities, etc. However, socialist self-government does not end with the activities of individual cells within the social organism--whether production of territorial. The interpretation of self-government leading to anarcho-syndicalism and to the splintering of society into independent and competing corporations opposed to the central power is profoundly alien to Marxists-Leninists. Self-government by the working people in the soviets and public organizations, republics and local areas and labor collectives means acting as structural components within a single system of socialist self-administration by the people. It is within this system that the free creativity of the masses is combined with the advantages of scientific leadership, planning and management and the development of the initiative of local bodies and labor collectives with their enhanced responsibility to society.

The draft new edition of the CPSU program emphasizes that "at the contemporary stage the strategic line followed in the development of the political system of society is one of perfecting Soviet democracy and ensuring the increasing socialist self-government by the people on the basis of the daily, active and effective participation of the working people and their collectives and organizations in resolving problems of governmental and social life." The system of socialist self-government coincides in its main and essential features with the political system of Soviet society, although certain differences exist: thus, administrative-political government goes beyond the framework of self-government, as we shall prove later, whereas, conversely the latter covers some areas which, strictly speaking, do not apply to the political system (such as voluntary societies of hunters and fishermen, photography, philately, etc.).

The soviets of people's deputies, which are the political foundation of the USSR, are the main link in the system of people's socialist self-government. The soviets, which were created through the revolutionary creativity of the working people, are democratic organs of state government which ensure the involvement of the broad popular masses in administration. As Lenin pointed out, "the people, united within the soviets, are the ones who must manage the state" (op. cit., vol 31, p 188).

The soviets are bodies of popular rule. In the postwar years more than 35 million citizens have been elected soviet deputies. Today the soviet aktivs number more than 30 million people. We would be fully justified in saying that the soviets are the main channel leading to participation in the administration of the country, open to anyone. Their activities organically combine representative with direct democracy. On the national level this is clearly manifested in holding nationwide discussions of drafts of most important laws and other socioeconomic decisions. Thus, in 1983 more than 110 million citizens participated in meetings on the draft Law on Labor Collectives. In 1984 about 120 million people attended meetings to discuss the draft reform of general education and vocational schools. Currently a nationwide discussion is underway of the draft precongress documents. Like the other forms of direct ties between the soviets and the population, such

discussions bring to light the collective opinion of the masses and take it into consideration in the final decision-making. This is a vivid manifestation of our democracy and socialist self-government.

The soviets are a form of state self-government by the people. It is through these bodies of the people's rule that the working people have the real possibility of exerting a decisive influence on the entire governmental apparatus, for all other state bodies are accountable to and under the control of the soviets. In their work the soviets combine decision-making with organizing their execution and verification. They are called upon to direct and check the activities of other state bodies and to take the necessary steps to ensure their improvement. The unity of the system of soviets, from the Supreme Soviet to settlement and rural soviets, enables them to perform ruling and self-government functions on the national, republic and local scale, on the basis of combining centralization with broad local initiative.

The nature of the work of soviets has shown a qualitative change in recent years. Essentially, this has consisted of intensifying the influence of higher and local power bodies in virtually all areas of social life, strengthening the soviet system and giving priority in the work of soviet bodies to concern for the fuller satisfaction of the needs and daily demands of the working people. The role of the local soviets in ensuring the comprehensive economic and social development of the individual areas, accelerating scientific and technical progress, implementing all-union comprehensive progress--energy, food and production of consumer goods and services--and independently resolving problems of local significance and coordinating and supervising the activities of organizations located on their territory is increasingly growing.

The key task of the soviets is to make full use of their rights and ensure the most energetic, conscious and interested participation of the working people in production management and in the administration of all social and governmental affairs and comprehensively to achieve a radical change in the content and style of their activities in accordance with current requirements.

The steps taken by the party to promote socialist democracy in our country are subordinated to the single common objective of gradually implementing Lenin's idea of the comprehensive involvement of the masses in the administration of the state and developing within every individual the skill of self-government. The soviets play a particularly important role in the solution of this problem. It is precisely through them that millions of working people become trained in the administration of the state. The permanent influx of new forces in the soviets is ensured through the regular renewal of the deputy personnel at each election. Thus, at the February 1985 elections 62.6 percent of deputies of supreme soviets of union republics, 64.7 percent of deputies of supreme soviets of autonomous republics and 47.4 percent of deputies of local soviets were newly elected. This democratic process in governmental life will be steadily developed, as stipulated in the draft new edition of the party program: "The body of deputies of soviets will be systematically renewed at elections in order to improve the work of the soviets and ensure the influx of new forces within them and so that more

millions of working people undergo training in the administration of the state."

The social organizations--trade unions, the Komsomol, the cooperatives, voluntary societies and others--are important links in the socialist self-government system and an effective channel for the participation of the citizens in the administration of the country.

The social organizations cover virtually the entire adult population in the country and a significant portion of the growing generation. However, their role and significance in social life are not determined by their size alone. According to the USSR Constitution, these organizations participate in the management of governmental and social affairs and in solving political, economic and sociocultural problems. The activeness of social organizations is one of the essential factors of the democratic nature of the Soviet political system, the very structure of which offers extensive opportunities for social initiative, and for taking into consideration in politics both the basic interests of the entire people as well as the specific interests of individual strata of workers.

The social organizations are a school of government, a form of involving the masses in organizational work. The elected aktiv of the social organizations numbers today in the millions. Thus, the elective trade union bodies number more than 15 million people; 9.5 million people hold elective positions in Komsomol work; more than 5 million people are members of elected bodies managing kolkhoz production and various public commissions in kolkhozes.

In accordance with the USSR Constitution, labor collectives are ensured participation in the discussion and solution of governmental and social affairs. "The party," the draft new edition of the CPSU program stipulates, "comprehensively encourages each labor collective to become an effective social cell of socialist self-government by the people and the daily and actual participation of the working people in resolving problems related to the work of enterprises, establishments and organizations, and the development and application of the creative forces of individuals." The intensified influence of labor collectives on all areas of social life must be combined with their increased responsibility for the solution of specific problems of economic, social and cultural development.

Improvements in the economic mechanism presume the increased role of labor collectives and the development of self-government principles in the production area. The energizing of self-government bodies of enterprises, such as general meetings (conferences) of workers and employees, and standing production conferences on the implementation of the Law on Labor Collectives, is of major importance. As in the case of the entire arsenal of our democracy, full use must be made of such opportunities.

The brigade method of labor organization and incentive offers tremendous possibilities of intensifying self-government in production. In the developed socialist society the brigade becomes the main production and social unit of labor collectives and one of the efficient forms of worker self-government. Today there are more than 1.5 million brigades in the country's industrial

enterprises alone. The overall number of workers using the brigade form of labor organization and incentive exceeds 18 million, or nearly 72 percent of the overall number of workers in 1984. The development of self-government in the brigades helps to upgrade the labor productivity of the collective and to improve the quality of its work and ensure the growth of the sociopolitical activeness and real participation of labor collectives in production management.

Mass people's control plays an essential role in the development of socialist self-government. People's control bodies are set up by all soviets, from supreme to settlement and rural, and are directly elected by the citizens at enterprises, kolkhozes, establishments and organizations. The activities of the working people in such party bodies, the draft new edition of the CPSU program emphasizes, is considered an important form of development of their political maturity and activeness in protecting the people's interests, developing a statesmanlike approach to the work and displaying personal concern for national property.

Therefore, the various units and levels of socialist self-government in the USSR offer broad and varied opportunities for the initiative-minded and permanent participation of the working people in the administration of the country. This is one of the greatest social gains of our people, legislatively codified in the USSR Constitution. Article 48 of the Constitution grants citizens the right to participate in the administration of governmental and social affairs and to discuss and pass laws and resolutions of national and local significance. Every citizen of the USSR has the right to submit to the state bodies and public organizations suggestions on improving their activities and to criticize shortcomings in their work. The Soviet people make extensive use of these rights by discussing problems of economic and social development and the work of state, social and economic organizations and establishments at meetings and in the press. The political activeness of the Soviet people, which is typical of our life, is, as Comrade M.S. Gorbachev noted, also a manifestation of true democracy, "an expression of what we describe as socialist self-government by the people."

Self-government by the people under the conditions of socialism--the first phase of the communist system--is achieved through the active use of the socialist state, which is the main power instrument of the working people, by making social changes and defending socialist gains. As the draft new edition of the CPSU program notes, the key problem of party policy at the current stage of operation of the political system is the development and strengthening of the Soviet socialist state and the increasing manifestation of its democratic national character.

The democratic nature of the socialist state and its broad social base led Lenin to the conclusion that this is no longer a state "in the strict meaning of the term" but a "semi-state," a "withering-away state" (op. cit., vol 33, pp 18, 24, 66). This Leninist thesis is misinterpreted by revisionist "theoreticians," in the sense that the socialist state should, allegedly, act as a weak state, yielding its functions to nongovernmental self-government organizations. In their view, as a source of bureaucratism, the state hinders

the development of democracy and self-government, hence the concept of "destatization" of society and abolition of state government.

We know, however, that the need for a state in the first phase of communism is determined by the objective factors of social development. At that phase the "destatization" of society may deprive it of its main tool in the struggle for building and strengthening the new system. Practical experience proves that weakening the role and power of the socialist state leads to the growth of elements of anarchy and uncontrollability, thus threatening the gains of socialism. It was actually on this that the right-wing leaders of Solidarity in Poland relied in organizing their attacks against real socialism on the basis of wrongly pitting the socialist state against self-government and the system against society.

Claims that the development of self-government under socialism is possible only by weakening the state, ignore the democratic nature of the socialist state and the radical difference between it and the bourgeois state. The democratic organization which presumes the extensive participation of the masses in the administration of the country and the close interaction between state and public institutions determines an essentially new correlation between the state and self-government under socialism. In this case self-government not only does not oppose the state, as is the case under capitalist conditions, but is closely combined, interacts and becomes interwoven with state government.

As we pointed out, the soviets--the broadest possible organizations of working people--which not only represent the authorities but also act as bodies which rally the people, are the political foundation of our state. Local self-government is an organic part of the socialist governmental organization. This was noted by Marx in his analysis of the experience of the Paris Commune, the very existence of which "led to local self-administration, as something self-evident, but no longer as a counterbalance to state power" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 17, p 345). Lenin as well never pitted socialist state power against popular self-government. "He highly valued the soviets," M.S. Gorbachev pointed out, "for the fact that they combine within themselves both qualities, being agencies of the power of the workers and peasants and ensuring their unification, cohesion and self-government." As we mentioned, it is through the soviets, which combine the features of socialist statehood and self-government by the people, that the working people exert a decisive influence on all other state bodies.

It is obvious, therefore, that self-government by the working people under socialism does not develop as a counterbalance to the state but through the intensification of the democratic foundations of state organization and activities, the strengthened interaction between state and public institutions and the increasingly active involvement of the masses in direct government.

In order to properly understand the nature of socialist self-government we must bear in mind that qualitative differences between state and public forms of self-government could be considered only as differences within the single socialist self-government of the people. Neither state nor social self-government, considered separately, can adequately reflect all the facets of

people's socialist self-government. Taken separately, this would impoverish self-government and lead to an erroneous interpretation of its content. Nor should we fall into the other extreme, that of identifying the state with self-government, although the latter fully encompasses its political foundation which, in our society, are the soviets of people's deputies.

Certain limits to self-government exist under the conditions of a society organized as a state. Thus, for example, administrative-political government (armed forces, prosecutor's supervision, etc.) is structured on the principles of strictly centralized state government. In the areas of economic and sociocultural building, under socialism these limits change and fluctuate. As the new society advances and as the necessary experience is acquired, the area of application and development of self-government under socialism becomes increasingly broad with the assistance of the party and the state.

Consequently, no reasons exist to postpone the practical implementation of self-government until a transition has been achieved to the higher phase of communism and the stateless organization of society. Naturally, socialist self-government by the people is not equivalent to social communist self-government, which will lack the institutions of statehood. Nevertheless, the broadest possible social base of the socialist state, its democratic organization and variety of ties linking its agencies with the population determine the elimination of the former alienation of the state from society, leading to their convergence and, in the final account, with the building of full communism, their merger.

The growth of socialist self-government into social communist self-government is a complex and lengthy historical process which depends on a number of social development factors. This includes laying the material and technical foundations for communism, developing the social homogeneity of society, reorganizing social relations from socialist into communist, educating the new person and further enhancing the political consciousness and culture of the masses. It involves the development of the type of international situation in which the existence of the state will no longer be necessary.

However, it is extremely important to note something else as well. In the same way that the planned and comprehensive advancement of socialism is a transitional stage on the way to communism, the development of the socialist self-government by the people is a historically necessary stage, a starting point in shaping social communist self-government.

The Leninist Communist Party is the leading and guiding force of Soviet society and the nucleus of its political system and of all state and social organizations. It is the leading force in the process of advancement of Soviet democracy and development of the people's socialist self-government. As the highest form of sociopolitical organization, the party sets by its entire activities an example of serving the interests of the people and observing the principles of socialist democracy.

Within the system of socialist self-government by the people, acting as the political leader, the party represents the nucleus, the vital center of the system. It is a model of maturity of interparty relations and creative

practical government style. As the draft CPSU statutes (with suggested amendments) note, the party structures its work on the basis of the strict observance of the Leninist norms of party life, the principles of democratic centralism, collective government, comprehensive development of intraparty democracy, creative activeness by the party members, criticism and self-criticism and extensive publicity.

At the present stage in the development of Soviet society the leading role of the Communist Party legitimately increases and so do requirements concerning the level of its political and organizational activities. The draft new edition of the party program considers the development of the political system, intensification of democracy and socialist self-government by the people on the basis of upgrading the political and labor activeness of the masses and their extensive involvement in the administration of production, governmental and social affairs among the factors which determine the increased leading role played by the party. In providing the political leadership of society, the CPSU systematically applies the time-tested Leninist principles in all realms of administration. It is concerned with strengthening its ties with the masses, relies on their collective intelligence and develops their social initiative.

Political experience confirms that under socialism democracy and self-government develop on the basis of the increased influence of the party on social life. This presumes upgrading the initiative and activeness of all other institutions of socialist self-government by the people. While directing and coordinating the work of state and social organizations, the CPSU sees to it that all of them implement its specific functions in full.

The draft CPSU statutes (with suggested amendments) include a new section entitled "Party and State and Social Organizations." It refines and develops the basic principles of the party's guidance of the various units within the Soviet political system. The CPSU guides the state and the social organizations through the party members working in them. The party's leadership of these organizations is of clearly manifested political nature. As noted in the draft, the party sees to it that state and social organizations fulfill their constitutional and statutory rights and obligations to the fullest extent and contribute to the extensive involvement of the working people in their work. The draft CPSU statutes call for the party organizations, operating within the framework of the USSR Constitution, not to substitute for soviet, trade union, cooperative and other social organizations, to prevent mixing the functions of party and other bodies and to avoid unnecessary duplication in the work.

The party's leading body--its Central Committee--sets the example of a Marxist-Leninist approach to problems of strengthening the party's leading role in Soviet society and developing socialist democracy and people's self-government. In recent decades major changes have taken place in our country in all areas of social life. They required the profound study and refining the immediate and long-term objectives, finding the ways to achieve them and establishing new approaches to political-organizational, socioeconomic and ideological party activities. The need for refined programmatic stipulations developed also in connection with the international situation. The party's

precongress documents provide a better and more accurate idea of the ways and means of planned and comprehensive advancement of socialism in Soviet society, reaching our great objective, communism, and implementing tasks of international policy under the new historical conditions.

The CPSU course of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development and raising the qualitative status of Soviet society includes as its structural component the further advancement of democracy and development of people's socialist self-government. The party proceeds from the Leninist stipulation that "socialism is not created by ukase from above. The automatic official bureaucratic approach is alien to its spirit; live and creative socialism is the creation of the people's masses themselves" (op. cit., vol 35, p 57).

The broadening participation of the working people in the administration of governmental and social affairs is the essence and criterion of the maturity of socialist democracy. Hence, self-government by the people is not a separate form of socialist democracy but its motive force and principal guideline.

The land of the soviets has gained rich experience in the development of socialist democracy and people's self-government. Nevertheless, we cannot claim that everything has already been done. The party demands that we take fully into consideration both successes achieved in involving the broad toiling masses in government as well as shortcomings, unused possibilities, unresolved problems and development prospects.

One of the most important reserves in the development of Soviet democracy and socialist self-government is the systematic implementation of the principles and norms set in the USSR Constitution and, on its basis, perfecting the work style and methods of soviet and other state bodies and social organizations. This calls for uprooting bureaucratic overorganization and paper shuffling and eliminating formalism and ostentatiousness, i.e., phenomena which hide the essence of the matter behind a show of measures.

Let us note in this connection the relevance of perfecting the practice of preparations for and holding of sessions of soviets, which should take place not on the basis of a scenario prepared in advance by executive committee personnel, as is sometimes the case, but with the active and interested participation of the deputies and the public. The draft new edition of the CPSU program stipulates that the activities of the soviets must embody increasingly democratic work principles, such as the collective, free and businesslike discussion and solution of problems; criticism and self-criticism; control over the work of executive and other bodies, etc. It would be pertinent to recall once again what Lenin asked of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee: "Longer sessions. More thorough discussions. More thorough verification" (op. cit., vol 45, p 418).

Making full use of the rights and possibilities at the disposal of the various units within the system of the people's socialist self-government is of essential significance. For example, the public organizations have the right to initiate legislation through union and republic bodies and to submit suggestions to the local soviets. Practical experience has indicated,

however, that they are still making poor use of and showing timidity in the exercise of such rights. Nor are such rights fully exercised by many labor collectives. So far the practice of discussing crucial problems of production and social development of enterprises and the appointment of workers to leading administrative and economic positions at working people's meetings and conference is being used too slowly. The role of standing production conferences must be significantly enhanced: they must become a major structural component of the mechanism of self-government and expansion of the rights of labor collectives in economic management.

Publicity plays an important role in the development of socialist self-government and Soviet democracy. Timely, full and frank information on all levels is a major prerequisite for enhancing the activeness of the working people and proof of the trust in people and in their intelligence and experience. Publicity is an efficient means in the struggle against bureaucratic distortions. It mandates a responsible approach to decision making, verification of execution and elimination of work shortcomings and omissions without delay.

The draft new edition of the CPSU program earmarks a number of promising trends in the development of socialist democracy and people's self-government. One of them is the line of democratization of government and of the process through which state resolutions are drafted and adopted. This line ensures the choice of their optimal variant, and the consideration and comparison among different opinions and suggestions submitted by labor collectives and citizens at their place of residence. The most important draft laws and resolutions will be submitted to nationwide discussion and vote. It is a question, therefore, of the broader use of the institutions of direct democracy, not only on the union but also on the republic and local levels.

Also important is the fact that the draft calls for broadening the range of problems which are resolved only after discussion by labor collectives, permanent soviet commissions and trade union, Komsomol and other public organizations. The system of summation and implementation of voters' instructions and citizens' declarations and suggestions and the study of public opinion, upgrading the level of information of the people on adopted resolutions and their implementation, will be perfected. Obviously, the procedure for formulating and adopting resolutions in individual management areas must be improved in order to contribute to the democratization of "sectorial" management and take more fully into consideration public opinion and the development of self-government principles in state administration.

The Communist Party ascribes great importance to perfecting the work of all state government bodies. The party proceeds from the fact that the soviet apparatus serves the people and is accountable to the people. It must be skilled and efficient. The draft new edition of the CPSU program stipulates measures aimed at simplifying and lowering the cost of the administrative apparatus, eliminating unnecessary positions, persistently uprooting manifestations of bureaucratism, formalism, departmentalism and parochialism and promptly dismissing incompetent, initiative-lacking and unconscientious workers.

The stipulations of the draft concerning expanding the effectiveness of leading personnel and the competitive system for filling positions are of great importance from the viewpoint of developing the democratic principles in the administrative apparatus. This will enable us to take more fully into consideration the practical and personal qualities of the personnel, their previous experience and public opinion in appointing them to corresponding positions. The importance of the strict observance of the principle of accountability of the personnel to state bodies is emphasized. Systematic public reports submitted by heads of government bodies at soviet sessions, meetings of their standing commissions and of citizens in labor collectives and at places of residence enable us to intensify the control exercised by the masses over the actual implementation of decisions and to ensure the objective rating of the personnel based on their practical accomplishments.

As we pointed out, the further enhancement of the role of public organizations is of prime importance in the increasing socialist self-government by the people. In particular, they must cooperate more closely with the state bodies on various matters of economic and social development. In this connection, in our view, it would be expedient to develop the state-social principle in the management of entire sectors of economic and cultural construction. We must bear in mind that as of now the activities of state and public institutions are being combined in some sectorial managements. Thus, in the agrarian sector kolkhozes and sovkhozes, state government bodies and kolkhoz councils are working on a parallel basis. Trade is managed both by trade ministries and their bodies as well as the consumer cooperative. In cultural construction, state government bodies and associations of the creative intelligentsia work together. Obviously, it would be more accurate to link more closely the activities of state and public institutions in these and other sectors and, in the future, to set up single state-social bodies, which would promote the development of self-government principles.

One of the basic objectives of governmental rule under socialism is the creation of the necessary prerequisites and conditions (including legal, in the guise of guaranteed human rights and freedoms in their fullest extent) for the extensive manifestation and increasingly full implementation of socialist self-government and its gradual conversion into communist social self-government. The growth of prosperity, availability of sufficient free time, upsurge in general education and cultural standards, the development of a system of bodies through which the working people carry out their government activities and a healthy political, production and moral climate in society are the main prerequisites for the effective, initiative-minded and competent participation of the working people in the administration of the country. On the basis of these postulates we can confidently advance on the way to the systematic and comprehensive perfecting of socialism and developing people's self-government.

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THE STATE AND THE ECONOMY UNDER SOCIALISM: THE POLITICAL-ECONOMIC SIDE OF THE QUESTION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 86 (signed to press 22 Jan 86) pp 46-58

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[Text] The draft new edition of the CPSU program, which provides a theoretical summation of the experience acquired in building and perfecting real socialism, and in which the tasks, levels and prospects of our advancement toward the higher phase of communism are scientifically defined, reproduces and creatively enriches the Marxist-Leninist theory of the role and historical destiny of the state in the course of the establishment and development of the communist socioeconomic system.

According to this theory, the state is not eliminated as a result of the revolutionary conversion of all means of production into ownership by the whole people but remains the most important political institution, which is absolutely necessary in building socialism and communism, an institution which is transformed in the course of said process. "The dictatorship of the proletariat, which was established as a result of the socialist revolution, played a decisive role in the creation of the new society. It changed itself in the course of this process. With the elimination of exploiting classes its function of suppressing the opposition of the overthrown exploiters became gradually unnecessary and the implementation of its main constructive tasks was developed to the fullest extent. Having performed its historical mission, the dictatorship of the proletariat developed into the political organization of all working people while the proletarian state became the state of the whole people. This state is the main instrument in perfecting socialism in our country....;" "The key problem of party policy is the development and strengthening of the Soviet socialist state and the increased assertion of its democratic nationwide character," the draft reads.

The draft also reflects the ideas expressed by Marx, Engels and Lenin on the natural withering away of the state in the course of building socialism and communism. "As the necessary socioeconomic and ideological prerequisites for involving all citizens in management mature, providing that proper international conditions exist, the socialist state, as Lenin predicted, will increasingly become the 'transitional form from state to nonstate.' The

activities of state bodies will assume a nonpolitical nature. Gradually the need for a state as a special political instrument will be eliminated," the first section of the second part of the draft emphasizes, in substantiating the communist future of the USSR and the need for accelerated socioeconomic development.

The transition from "state to nonstate," therefore, is not a simultaneous one-time act but a lengthy process of the gradual growth of specific qualitative changes in the very nature of the organization of the state, which, compared with the exploiting states, is an organization of a different 'social type, a different class content....' covering an entire historical age" (V.I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 36, p 300).

In this connection, we would like to draw attention to the following aspect of the problem of the development of socialist statehood, actively being discussed in current political and economic publications and, in our view, deserving a special interpretation in the new edition of the program. The new quality of state organization is not reduced merely to changes in its class and political nature. It is not exclusively related to the fact that for the first time in world history the phenomenon of the rule of the "majority over the minority" will appear. It is not only in this sense that already under the conditions of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism (and even more so in the first phase of communism) the state acts as a "semistate" (see V.I. Lenin, op. cit., vol 33, p 18). Also essentially important is the circumstance that in the new society radical changes take place in the economic role of state power.

On the surface of the phenomena these changes are manifested in the fact that the state is exerting a steadily increasing active influence on all aspects of economic life without exception. The state bodies, whose activities are directed by the Communist Party, manage the development and organize the implementation of the national economic plans for the country's development.

However, merely noting the existence of a new quality in the economic role of the state under the conditions of the first phase of the communist system is insufficient in terms of the truly scientific determination of the specific nature of this role. In particular, this applies to the solution of a major problem which continues to be a topic of discussion in political-economic (as well as philosophical and juridical) science, which can be formulated as follows: Are all economic functions of the socialist state reduced to purely superstructural ones (and, correspondingly, should we raise the question only of broadening the realm and intensifying the political and legal influence on the economic life of society exclusively in terms of a specific qualitative leap in the development of such an influence) or else, while remaining the most important institution in the superstructure and acting as the subject of economic policy and legal relations, does the state under socialism also become directly involved in the system of production relations, turning into a structural element of the economic system itself and, consequently, performing certain basic functions?

The long history of the development of this problem indicates that its solution cannot be reached without the study of the most essential features of the economic base of socialism.

I

According to the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin, as the first phase of communism, socialism is a planned economic management system operating on a higher stage of development of the social nature of production forces. In other words, it is a system of a direct-socialized and planned production operating on a national economic scale, objectively aiming at improving the well-being and comprehensive enhancement of the capabilities of all members of the association of working people. The single socioeconomic center, which performs the function of nationwide economic management--economic management on the scale of the society of the working people as a whole, in the name of this society and for the benefit of this society--is an attribute of this system, and its inherent and inseparable structural element. It is precisely the socioeconomic center (with the help of the complex hierarchical "pyramid" of planned management levels, subordinate to it) that scientifically determines the totality of social needs, according to which it distributes (also through that hierarchy) production resources by sector, sphere and region in the national economy. The central economic organ, which is an association of working people as a whole, as the owners of objective labor conditions and as the subject of economic management, systematically coordinates the structure of the social production process with the structure of social requirements.

The idea of the mandatory existence of a socioeconomic center as a subject of economic management in the future society of associated working people was clearly formulated by Marx in his "Poverty of Philosophy." "A society best organized for generating wealth," Marx wrote in 1847, "should unquestionably have only one main entrepreneur, who would assign to the various members of the social collective their work, based on already established regulations" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 4, p 153).

The concept of a socioeconomic center is a mandatory element in planned socialist production. It runs through Lenin's post-October works, which scientifically substantiate a specific plan for building socialism. Based on the fact that the latter is "building of a centralized economy, an economy from the center..." (op. cit., vol 37, p 422), Lenin sharply criticized petit-bourgeois anarcho-syndicalist concepts which rejected the need for such a center. "Communism demands and presumes the greatest possible centralization of large-scale production throughout the country.... Depriving the all-Russian center of the right of having direct jurisdiction over all enterprises in a given sector and in all parts of the country....would be regional anarcho-syndicalism rather than communism" (op. cit., vol 36, p 392).

"Work is united in Russia in a communist fashion to the extent to which, first of all, the private ownership of means of production has been eliminated and, secondly, the proletarian state power organizes on a national scale large-scale production on state land and in state enterprises, distributing manpower among different economic sectors and enterprises, and distributing consumer products belonging to the state among the working people" (V.I. Lenin, op.

cit., vol 39, p 273). Lenin's work "Economics and Politics in the Epoch of Dictatorship of the Proletariat" as well as other works he wrote after the Great October Revolution, continue, on the basis of summing up the experience of the first years in building socialism, the development started by Marx and Engels of the theory of socialism as a system of planned and organized production with a single economic center, containing the foundations of the scientific concept of a qualitatively new economic role of the state functioning during the first phase of the communist society. It is only the state of a new social type created by the victorious proletariat, a state which owns all expropriated means of production, that can systematically and fully implement the functions of a central economic body of the socialist society. That is why Lenin called for "rallying the economic people's commissariats within a single economic center" (op. cit., vol 42, p 154).

Lenin also indicated that playing the role of a socioeconomic center by the socialist state is based on certain historical prerequisites related to the features of state-monopoly capitalism which, according to Lenin's definition, "is the small step in the historical ladder between which and the step described as socialism no intermediary steps may be found" (op. cit., vol 34, p 193). As a result of the undermining of commodity output and the shift from free competition to monopoly rivalry, which appear as a result of the tremendous growth of the social nature of production forces, is inherent in the imperialist stage of capitalism. For that reason, the bourgeois state is forced to assume elements of the function of a socioeconomic center which have not been created by it (precisely nothing but "elements!" under circumstances governed by the preservation of private ownership). The bourgeois state tries to play the role of such a center in a limited and conflicting manner which, precisely, is defined by Lenin's political-economic concept of "state-monopoly capitalism." The elaboration of this category enabled Lenin substantially to enrich and expand the Marxist theory of the breakdown of the bourgeois governmental machinery in the course of the socialist revolution in terms of the new historical conditions. He convincingly proved that the elements of the bourgeois state apparatus related to the implementation of the specific socioeconomic function based on the development of production forces and the establishment of the monopoly, should not be "wrecked" by the revolutionary proletariat but used in organizing the planned economic management by the working people on the scale of the entire society (ibid., p 307).

Under the conditions of monopoly capital, the domination of private property allows no more than partial and limited planning (see V.I. Lenin, op. cit., vol 33, pp 67-68), and only partial direct state intervention in setting up public production ratios, excluding the organization of governmental control on the scale of the entire national economy. The victory of the socialist revolution and the establishment of the social ownership of means of production make the latter possible.

II

In assuming the role of socioeconomic center, the socialist state creates to this effect a widespread apparatus engaged in economic and organizational activities on the entire territory of the country. The very fact of setting up such bodies of the specifically proletarian state, which subsequently

becomes a state of the whole people, as well as the fact of their inclusion in the process of planned economic management on the overall social scale does not mean in the least that the function of socioeconomic center is the result of the preservation of statehood as such. Said function, as we already noted, is an inherent feature, an attribute of the direct-socialized planned and organized socialist production, whereas the state merely assumes the function of its implementation. During the higher phase of the communist system, after the state has withered away, the socioeconomic center will not only remain but will also continue to develop. It is no accident that Lenin insisted on the fact that the state apparatus in the strict meaning of the term "was doomed to die, whereas the apparatus in the type of a higher council of the national economy would grow, develop and strengthen, assuming the overall most important activities of the organized society" (op. cit., vol 36, pp 377-378). Therefore, the socioeconomic center is one of the general communist principles, internally inherent in socialism, the strengthening of which, as the draft new edition of the CPSU program emphasizes, "means the true advancement of society toward communism."

A qualitatively new feature which essentially distinguishes socialist statehood from previous historical types of statehood, consequently, is not reduced totally to the already described change in the class and political content of state power. As emphasized in published works, as the subject of the right of ownership by the whole people of the means of production, the socialist state cannot economically implement its status as owner of objective labor conditions other than by beginning, for the first time in history, to perform the functions of direct organizer of the entire social production process. It is in the name of the association of working people that the socialist state provides centralized national economic management.

The qualitative change in relations between the state and the economy was clearly codified in the second party program, adopted at the 8th RKP(b) Congress and drafted under Lenin's guidance. "In the age of the initiated socialization of means of production expropriated from the capitalist," the program stipulates, "the state power is no longer a parasitical apparatus placed above the production process; it begins to turn into an organization directly performing the functions of managing the country's economy...." (op. cit., vol 38, p 442). Lenin's characterization of the state as the subject of direct economic management as a whole was the foundation for the stipulations of the 18th VKP(b) Congress to the effect that already during the transitional period the proletarian state develops an economic-organizational function, the purpose of which is to develop the shoots of the new socialist economy and, with the elimination of exploiting classes, after the victory of socialism, this function develops even further. This feature, we believe, becomes even more important under the conditions of the state of developed socialism reached by our country and codified in the precongress documents under discussion, under the conditions of the all-round advancement of socialist social relations.

In assuming the implementation of the role of a social economic center, objectively the socialist state becomes part of the system of the functioning production relations as well as their subject. However, this leads not to the conversion of the superstructure into the base but to a certain "doubling" of

the social functions of the state. While remaining the most important political and superstructural institution, it also assumes economic, base features. This is the essential conclusion drawn by many Soviet political economists (see, for example, A.I. Pashkov, "Ekonomicheskiye Problemy Sotsializma" [Economic Problems of Socialism], Nauka, Moscow, 1970, pp 185-188; "Kurs Politicheskoy Ekonomii", [Course in Political Economy]. in 2 volumes. vol 2 "Socialism." N.A. Tsagolov editor. Ekonomika, Moscow, 1974, pp 260-262; "Problemy Razvitoogo Sotsializma v Politicheskoy Ekonomii" [Problems of Developed Socialism in Political Economy]. V.N. Cherkovets editor. Nauka, Moscow, 1977, pp 132-136; L.I. Abalkin, "Dialektika Sotsialisticheskoy Ekonomiki" [Dialectics of the Socialist Economy]. Mysl, Moscow, 1981, pp 140-141; V.A. Medvedev, "Upravleniye Sotsialisticheskim Proizvodstvom: Problemy Teorii i Praktiki" [Socialist Production Management: Problems of Theory and Practice]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1983, p 53; "Ekonomicheskiy Stroy Sotsializma" [Socialism's Economic System]. in 3 volumes. vol 1 "Basic Features of the Socialist Economic System." Ye.I. Kapustin et al. editors. Ekonomika, Moscow, 1984, pp 550-552).

III

A major postulate encountered in publications which consider the economic activities of the state exclusively as superstructural is the rejection by the supporters of this interpretation of the thesis of management as a structural attribute of any cooperated labor. However, their opponents justifiably object, not even simple labor cooperation exists without management, for, as Marx exhaustively proved, this is a function which objectively arises from the very nature of any social labor process and is directly included in the very content of the latter. Labor cooperation is "the type of form of labor in which a number of individuals work side by side and in a state of interaction with each other on a planned basis within the same production process or in different yet interrelated production processes..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 23, p 337). An essential feature of labor cooperation, consequently, is planning. The planned work of many individuals is achieved by managing their joint labor. Management is above all a necessary element in shaping the expedient activities of the overall worker as the main productive force. It is relevant to recall in this connection the expedient activities of the individual as a subject of a simple labor process influencing the substance of nature with a view to creating a certain consumer value (see ibid., p 189). However, we see in cooperation the expedient activities not of a single working person but of the overall worker, which become possible only with the existence of a corresponding managing body. In other words, production management relations are an internal function of the production process itself, for the expedient labor efforts of an individual or a collective of working people mandatorily includes the feature of "turning on both consciousness and willpower. The productive force of the overall worker cannot function outside the latter, something which applies to labor cooperation regardless of production method.

Anyone engaged in the cooperation of labor, Marx emphasized, "needs, to a greater or lesser extent, management which coordinates individual operations and performs overall functions which arise as a result of the dynamics of the entire production organism, unlike the dynamics of its separate organs. A

violin soloist controls his own actions but an orchestra needs a conductor" (ibid., p 342). The work of the manager ("the conductor") like any other relatively independent function of the production process, becomes part of the productive toil of the overall worker ("the orchestra"). "This," Marx wrote, "is productive labor, which is necessary regardless of the type of combined production method used" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 25, part I, p 422). Even taken separately, these universally known Marxist concepts relative to cooperation as a general aspect of productive forces, prove the erroneousness of qualifying management functions as exclusively superstructural, as encountered in some publications, merely on the grounds that an inherent part of managerial work is setting in motion "will and consciousness."

However, labor cooperation always means unity of production force and social form. The latter is dictated by the "planning manager" (Lenin) who is its specific socioeconomic subject. Therefore, management is a necessary internal element in the functioning not only of productive forces but of any specific historical system of production relations. It is its basic relation. In this connection, Marx wrote in terms of capitalist production that "management by the capitalist is not only a basic function which stems from the very nature of the social labor process and applies to the latter; it is also a function of exploitation of the social labor process..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 23, p 343). Consequently, it is a function of the basic production relation under capitalism. Therefore, the work of those engaged in public production management is productive not only as an element of the simple process of reorganizing the "substances of nature" but also from the aspect of its social form. In this case it is of exceptional importance to remember that management is provided by the owner of the means of production or by his representative. In all cases, however, it is on behalf of the owner and in his interest, for which reason it is a mandatory aspect of the reproduction of economic appropriation relations.

Marx's concept of the twin nature of management (see ibid.), i.e., of the existence of its universal content and specific socioeconomic form, is of general methodological significance and, consequently, applies to socialism as well.

The main feature of socialism, as we pointed out, is that, on the basis of the social ownership of the means of production, for the first time in the history of mankind a nationwide cooperation of labor takes place; the economy is managed on a planned basis on the scale of the entire society. Each unit within the national economy has its respective "local" labor cooperation; the latter, however, functions precisely within the framework of nationwide cooperation.

Such cooperation is inconceivable without the type of central economic body, the purpose of which is to ensure planned development on the scale of the entire public production process we especially mentioned. The labor of a member of such a body is integrated, first of all, within the nationwide cooperation system as a productive force of the overall worker in the socialist society. It is in this sense (and in this sense alone!) that we can speak of a certain coincidence under socialism between the "state apparatus"

and the "production apparatus," or, more precisely, of including the first (or any one of its parts) within the second. Secondly, the activities of the general economic administrative organ are a necessary feature in the reproduction relations within socialist ownership, in the process of public production, for in socialism (as in any production method) management is both a general function of public labor and a function of the basic production relation (in this case the relation between the association of working people as a whole, as the owners of the means of production, and every individual direct producer, as a participant in the nationwide cooperation of labor). It is from this specific socioeconomic viewpoint (as well as, naturally, the viewpoint that the state remains a superstructural institution) that the concept of "state apparatus" is broader than that of "production apparatus."

IV

Since under socialism the role of a general economic body is performed by the state, in addition to its political and superstructural function, directly economic, base functions, appear as well in the course of its managerial activities. Therefore, it is hardly possible to agree with the concept according to which the state manages the economy on a centralized basis through political methods alone. Under socialism, the state unquestionably uses political and legal means of influencing the economy. Otherwise it would lose its quality as a state. However, it would be erroneous to reduce the entire system of economic management to political methods. Lenin made this maximally clear when he wrote that "the task of the administration of the state, which is now a task of the Soviet system, has the additional feature that now it is a question, for the first time in the most modern history of civilized nations, of the type of management in which priority is assumed not by politics but by economics. Usually, we relate to the word 'administration' precisely and above all with activities which are primarily or even strictly political. Yet the very foundation, the very essence of the Soviet system, like the very essence of the transition from a capitalist to a socialist society, is that political tasks become subordinated to economic tasks" (op. cit., vol 36, p 130).

Consequently, political management and the superstructural influence on the economy must not be confused with the direct centralized production management and, in particular, with the application of the specific economic methods inherent in socialism of advancing economic resources to society and a priori coordinating such advance with a system of identified social needs.

The distribution of resources by sector and economic sphere is a basic and most important economic (base) function, needed in order to initiate and develop the production process regardless of social conditions. It is mandatory regardless of production method (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 32, pp 460-461). The sole distinction is among the specific historical forms of such distribution (barter, commodity, planned) and the scale and trends, dictated by the basic economic laws of the system.

Advancing resources, which is another link between public production and social needs, does not stop being an economic function should its performer, who may be the owner (or representative of the owner) of the means of

production, also happens to perform a superstructural function, which is precisely what takes place with the state ownership of means of production under socialism.

Under socialism, providing resources for national production is precisely the function of the state which acts as the economic subject, as the representative of the owner of the means of production--the society of working people as a whole. Suffice it to look at the state budget to realize that the main item in its expenditures is financing the national economy, including capital investments. In other words, the most important role in state outlays is played by funds allocated for the development of socialist production, i.e., for implementing the prime economic function of owner of means of production. Without it the nationwide appropriation, the realization of national interest and ensuring the priority of the latter, urgently demanded by the precongress documents under discussion, would be inconceivable. It is also entirely obvious that without strengthening the base function of the state as the main subject and manager of the nationwide investment process the successful solution of the entire set of large-scale strategic tasks for the drastic acceleration of scientific and technical progress and accomplishing an essential structural restructuring of our entire national economy, formulated in detail in the draft new edition of the CPSU program and the Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and the Period Until the Year 2000, would be impossible.

As we know, funds are advanced not only directly by the state but also by the "primary units" of the economy (cost-accounting enterprises and associations), the possibilities of which, as subjects of socialist economic management, have been significantly increased in the course of the development of the new stage in organizing the economic mechanism, which began after the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. In this case as well, however, the funds are expended on behalf of the state and in the interest of the owner of modes of production (the socialist society organized in the form of a state), for said outlays are used to meet specific social needs determined in accordance with the state plan. Advancing funds directly by cost accounting units which, as noted in the draft new edition of the CPSU program, enjoy operational and economic autonomy, can take place by using budget funds, the funds of the producers themselves and credits. In this case, it is important to bear in mind that both the funds of the producers and the loans belong to the state.

The concept according to which the socialist state can fulfill only purely superstructural functions in terms of the economy suffers, in our view, from the methodological shortcoming that it is based on the formal, the external approach to the characterization of the economic role of the governmental organization. It is precisely the socially necessary function that is performed by the state apparatus, the supporters of this concept believe, while the state is superstructural, for which reason its corresponding function is superstructural. We believe, however, that such considerations allow us to claim with full justification that the very function performed by the socialist state has a socioeconomic center and its closely related methods of centralized economic management are phenomena of a direct base system, elements of economic relations of the directly socialized production on a national economic scale. Concepts of the base controlled by the

superstructure could hardly make an efficient contribution to the solution of problems of providing an active scientific criticism of bourgeois and revisionist concepts of "command," "bureaucratized," "statist," "administrative" and other types of economy.

Naturally, however, it is not merely a question of methodological and theoretical approaches as such. The practical rejection of the fact that under socialism the state is the mandatory "node" directly included in the system of production relations of associated working people, and actually removing from the state its function as the economic center would objectively lead to the assertion that the only, the comprehensive and dominating form is... the form of commodity-monetary relations, and to the transformation of the national economy into a sum of "atomized" and separate production units, economically linked exclusively through the market. Such a state of the economy is possible on the basis of the domination of a collective-group but by no means national ownership of the means of production. In our society, as follows from the letter and the spirit of the precongress documents, commodity-monetary relations assume a new, a socialist content. In other words, in developing efficient trends for the economic and social development of the country, as clearly targeted in the draft new edition of the CPSU program and the Basic Directions, we must proceed from the fact that such relations are subordinated to the basic foundations of the socialist economic system. This includes, above all, the direct social and planned relations representing national ownership, which, in the first phase of communism, have as a mandatory feature the state acting as a socioeconomic center.

It is exceptionally important in this context to emphasize the following: the direct social organization of production, which economically embodies nationwide ownership, does not mean in the least, in terms of the definition provided by the Marxist-Leninist classics, that the socioeconomic center, whose functions are performed by the state during the socialist phase, "bureaucratically" regulates the entire public production, planning it directly and "to the last bolt." Such a situation is basically excluded both under contemporary conditions (for the variety of items produced by the national economy is in the millions) as well as (and even more so) in the higher communist phase (in which, as a result of the gigantic and presently unpredictable growth of individual and industrial needs of the associated working people and the possibility of producing such variety, we must assume, will be correspondingly increased). The planned governmental organization "based on the entire society" (Lenin) mandatorily presumes the already noted hierarchical system of production control and singling within the production system various relatively autonomous and closely interacting levels and units, which factually participate in the formulation and implementation of national economic management decisions. It is within this system that on the highest level (on the "upper echelon") that the most generalized, basic, key indicators and proportions are set and controlled, which is consistent with the maximally broad scale of economic management. At the lower levels of planned management the parameters which are issued and implemented are more detailed. More specific problems are resolved, reflecting at the same time, the lesser scale of control (its specific intersectorial, sectorial or regional "section").

We believe that such an interpretation of the planned state organization is entirely consistent on the political and economic level with the comprehensive concept, ranging from the highest to the lowest levels, vertical as well as horizontal, of the organizational and structural reorganization of the economic mechanism, as defined at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the June conference on problems of accelerating scientific and technical progress, and as included in the precongress programmatic documents. The most important feature of this concept is a certain "relieving" and, at the same time, increasing the overall importance of the "upper echelons" in the hierarchical system of planned administration, Gosplan above all; changing the role of the existing and creating a number of new elements (such as special management bodies of large national economic complexes) and decisively eliminating the obsolete elements within this system; organically including in its functioning the economic contracts among enterprises and associations (in other words, such contracts are not "direct" in the full political-economic meaning of the term, for they are concluded in order to implement assignments included in the state plans; they are material and technical and, in terms of price setting, are backed by state management authorities, for which reason, consequently, one way or another they pass through the state as the economic center).

By developing real centralization and contributing to converting the satisfaction of the specific needs of society into the principal criterion in assessing enterprise and association activities, the initiated organizational restructuring of the planned management system provides the opportunity for the fuller manifestation of the autonomy and creative initiative of labor collectives. Their efforts are manifested, in particular, in energizing their real participation in preplanning developments (counterplanning), and the choice of optimal variants for the implementation of assignments (including technical production updating); they are channeled into identifying internal reserves and lowering labor and material outlays in the production of social consumer values and achieving the higher production quality parameters set by society. In other words, the development of state centralization not only does not hinder but, conversely, creates the most important prerequisites for the efficient implementation of the Leninist concept of socialist self-management by the working people, the restoration and creative enrichment of which is one of the outstanding features of the draft new edition of the CPSU program. In criticizing interpretations of self-government according to which it is "pitted against state government," at the December 1984 all-union practical science conference Comrade M.S. Gorbachev particularly emphasized that "Lenin never pitted the Soviet state system against the people's self-government." Let us note in this connection that in some cases it is stupid to ascribe to Lenin a leftist-petit bourgeois concept of "supercentralization" for the sake of "substantiating" the anarcho-syndicalist variant of self-government condemned by the party. Thus, according to one point of view, during the first postrevolutionary years Lenin allegedly believed that since production will be organized on a national scale, as a "nationwide syndicate," "the state would subordinate to itself the entire national economy even to the slightest detail." Yet, in 1918 the founder of the Soviet state wrote that "...Centralism, understood in its truly democratic meaning, presumes, for the first time in history, the possibility of the full and unhindered development not only of local characteristics but also local initiative and enterprise,

and a variety of ways, means and methods for progress toward the common goal" (op. cit., vol 36, p 152).

The maximal "energizing" of the forms of the self-governmental work of labor collectives, which are inherent in socialism and NOT ALTERNATIVES of state centralized planning, is an inseparable component of the implementation of the concept of accelerating the socioeconomic development of the country in its progress toward a new qualitative status of Soviet society. The essence of this concept rests in the fuller and more efficient utilization of the basic possibilities and advantages offered by socialism as a social system superior to capitalism. "The planned nature of the economy and the active creativity of the masses," noted the CPSU Central Committee Conference on Problems of Accelerating Scientific and Technical Progress, "provide scope for the development of the national economy. However, we have not as yet learned how to make proper use of all of our advantages and sometimes we firmly cling to the old."

The rejection of the base functions of the socialist state is, in our view, also a factual neglect of the specific nature of the link between manpower and the means of production under socialism. Under capitalist conditions, as we know, such a link is established by offering manpower on the labor market and including it in the process of commodity turnover. In a society in which the workers recognize no power other than that of their own association, said function is provided by that same association, organized as a state. The elimination of the commodity form of manpower means ascribing it a direct social form represented precisely by the socialist state. It is only under the latter's control, at the lower phase of communism, that its inherent production method can take place, along with the historical alternative to the purchase and sale of manpower, of the universal act of unification of individual manpower within an overall social manpower, making planned use of the socialized objective labor conditions.

The difficulty of this problem is, specifically, the following: to the extent to which the socialist state performs the function of a general economic body, strictly speaking it stops being a state in the classical understanding as a strictly political superstructure. However, it cannot abandon its superstructural impact on social production and, consequently, it does not stop being a state. Since such is the case, we have here a contradiction created not by logic but by reality. In a certain sense this affects the specific forms of governmental administrative relations. Thus, the decisions made by the state concerning problems of economic management assume the aspect of legal, legislative acts.

Let us take the single national economic plan as an example. It is an administrative "assignment" set by the state to the country's economy as a whole, legislatively formulated and mandatory for anyone involved in it, presented in a proper legal form. This form consists above all of the dynamics and placement of production forces and the development of production relations (perfecting their specific manifestations in the economic mechanism). In other words, the content is the economic life of society (its development) in the broad meaning of the term, the sum total of relations between people and nature and among each other in the course of the production

process (see K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 25, part II, p 385). The logical completion of the national economic plan is its social component as a "field" for the utilization of the results of social production in accordance with the effect of the basic economic law of socialism. It is no accident that the classical Leninist definition of the supreme objective of planned socialist production is included in the section of the draft new edition of the CPSU program, which deals with social party policy (which, in our view, does not eliminate the expediency of reflecting this formulation above all in the programmatic characterization of the system of socialist production relations).

Therefore, in its influence on the economy, the socialist state shows itself both as a subject of economic management on the scale of the entire social production process and as a superstructure which exercises certain legal and political relations. We believe that this concept coincides with the definitions included in the draft new edition of the program that planning is an instrument for the implementation of party economic policy, and an active lever "for the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development, intensification of production on the basis of scientific and technical progress and implementation of progressive economic solutions...." It is a lever aimed at ensuring the "balanced and dynamic growth of the economy" and the "priority of statewide interests." State centralized national economic planning is an economic lever, an economic method (the main economic method) of management inherent in socialism and based on its essential nature as a system for planned (directly socialized on a national scale) economy.

"Socialism is inconceivable....without planned state organization which demands of dozens of millions of people the strictest possible observance of a single standard in production and the distribution of products," Lenin wrote at the very dawn of the Soviet system. "We, Marxists, have always said that and people who have been unable to understand even that...are not worth wasting even a few seconds of discussion" (op. cit., vol 36, p 300). In formulating today his position on the question of the economic function of the state under socialism, in our view, every Marxist social scientist should profoundly consider again and again these Leninist words, for they provide a basic political and economic characterization of the first phase of the communist system and are a firm scientific foundation and most important theoretical guideline for party activities in developing socialist production.

On the basis of all of this, we suggest that the following formula be incorporated in the first section of the second part of the draft new edition of the program: "In the first phase of communism, while remaining the most important political organization of society and providing legal control of the economy, the state also performs the role of the subject of nationwide

ownership and economic management, assuming the functions of a single economic center of the entire planned development of the national economic organism. During the higher phase of communism, after the state has withered away, these functions will be performed by nonpolitical institutions.

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CSO: 1802/8

EFFICIENT SOLUTION OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 86 (signed to press 22 Jan 86) pp 59-68

[Article by N. Rimashevskaya, doctor of economic sciences]

[Text] The main target of the Communist Party's policy during all the stages of its revolutionary-transforming activities is concern for the person and his needs and their satisfaction. This is particularly clearly emphasized in the draft new edition of the party program: "The CPSU sets the task of enhancing the well-being of the Soviet people to a qualitatively new level and ensuring the type of standard and structure of consumption of material, social and cultural goods which will be consistent to the highest extent with the views of shaping a harmoniously developed and spiritually rich individual and the creation of the necessary conditions for the fullest possible determination of the capabilities, gifts and talents of the Soviet people in the interests of society." Here the party links the solution of said problems with the systematic implementation of a line of strengthening social justice in the distribution of material and spiritual goods, intensifying the influence of factors on economic development and switching the economy to the track of intensification.

The intensive development of the production process and the growth of its efficiency are the most important prerequisites for social progress today. The party's strategic course toward the qualitative restructuring of all aspects of life in Soviet society presumes, above all, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the reorganization of the social production structure and the advancement of the administrative system and economic management methods. In this connection, the human factor is becoming increasingly important. Its role substantially depends on the efficiency of the distribution policy and the solution of arising socioeconomic problems of well-being. We should acknowledge, however, that social measures as well could be efficient, underefficient or totally inefficient from the viewpoint of the utilization of social resources and the extent to which specific problems are resolved. A comparative evaluation of the state of a number of socioeconomic problems of the end of the 1960s and the end of the 1970s (such as, for example, housing and material labor incentive) indicates that some of the planned measures which were carried out failed to yield expected results.

The lack of comprehensiveness in shaping the system of measures included in the social program was felt. They were frequently contradictory in terms of their consequences. Furthermore, specific measures were planned without a preliminary definition of long-range target programs. In particular, measures taken to increase wages were carried out in some sectors and groups of working people without the necessary consideration of the nature of the wage system as applied in the national economy as a whole. The legitimate consequence of this approach was a significant increase in intersectorial wage disparities to the detriment of intrasectorial ones, which are the most important component of the material incentive of the working people and the reflection of their labor contribution.

The steps which were taken to resolve the housing problem were related, above all, to housing construction. They were insufficiently supported by measures to encourage the more efficient utilization of housing. Within the decade under consideration, the country's housing facilities increased by a factor of 1.3; the socialized share was expanded substantially and more than 60 percent of the population improved their housing conditions. Nevertheless, the demands of the people concerning the level of housing availability increased as well, even faster than the availability itself. As a result, the number of families dissatisfied with their housing conditions remains high.

The growth rates of the people's well-being are directly determined by the level reached in public production. However, social relations have their own laws of change, based on the specific manifestations of the law of increased requirements, neglect of which in planning and management could lead to weakening the impact of increased well-being on public production efficiency.

The gap between needs (or some social standards as conceived by society) and their satisfaction triggers socioeconomic problems, the gravity of which is determined above all by the urgency and significance of respective needs. The absolute increase of the consumer mass is not always considered in terms of the growth of living standards and of a specific feature of the people's well-being as a socioeconomic category in the sense that it is more of a relative than absolute nature. The correlation in consumption among individual groups and population strata, developing as a result of the effect of all distribution instruments, including that of counteracting the mechanism governing the formation of unearned income and concealed and antisocial redistribution processes, assumes an essential significance.

All of this means that the steps related to the social program must be shaped on the basis of their orientation toward the solution of urgent problems of well-being, in order to ensure the more efficient implementation of the functions of a distribution policy. Here a great deal depends on the systematic and interrelated nature of such measures and the preliminary formulation of long-term social target programs.

At the present time, however, the universally accepted standard methodology used in forecasting the people's well-being, based on efficient consumption standards and consumer budgets, addresses itself above all to the volumes and scale of output, remaining indifferent toward the conditions governing the distribution of consumer goods created within the society. The logic is as

follows: we know the needs of the population, determined with the help of rational standards (as a target); therefore production must be developed at a maximal pace in order to meet these consumption standards; therefore, in the course of social development, needs are increased and grow, as a result of which standards must be refined and the production process must meet new assignments of a primarily quantitative nature. However, the questions of how will needs develop as we pursue this target and how should production as a whole and in its individual structural elements expand in the course of its individual stages, and how should the distribution mechanisms inevitably change and the manner in which this should influence population needs, remain unanswered. Above all, no clarity exists concerning priorities, knowledge of which is always necessary when resources are limited.

A new problem-orientation approach has been formulated, in which identified socioeconomic problems, taking their gravity and specific nature into consideration, become the base for forecasts and planning of the people's well-being and targeting. The way to resolve them becomes more direct and, therefore, shorter and more efficient. It enables us to approach problems of the growth of the people's well-being from the positions of social efficiency and to evaluate planned measures from the viewpoint of resolving specific problems. This was indicated by the practice of formulating realistic plans and forecasts. Thus, the formulation of the Comprehensive Program for Developing the Production of Consumer Goods and Services for 1986-2000 confirms that it is expedient to proceed not on the basis of consumer standards but of problems the solution of which is the target of its various stipulations.

The consideration and knowledge of the process shaping the people's well-being is based not only on the study of the dynamics of the volume and structure of the national income, the growth rates of output of consumer goods and services and the volume of trade and non-production capital investments. This integral aspect characterizes the interrelationship among social phenomena from one side only. The other side includes knowledge of the actual conditions governing activities on the level of the family and the individual.

The precongress documents under discussion set most important problems the proper solution of which substantially determines the efficiency of social policy and the acceleration of economic development. Let us consider the following among them: perfecting wages on the basis of the systematic implementation of the principle of distribution according to labor invested in consumer goods created within the society; balancing supply and demand of commodities and services and shaping sensible population needs and consumption standards; improving pensions within the framework of a long-term target program; resolving the housing problem, including that of extensive communal services to the population; developing the social infrastructure on the basis of the more efficient utilization of social consumption funds; improving the population's health and reducing the mortality rate among all age groups and extending the span of active life; strengthening the family and ensuring a higher level of socialization of the growing generation; providing conditions for combining motherhood with active participation of women in labor and

social life; comprehensively expanding the consumption of cultural goods and perfecting the socialist way of life.

Let us consider some aspects of these problems in greater detail.

Wages account for about 86 percent of the family income and workers and employees (excluding free or discounted services paid out of social consumption funds). However, the growth of wages regardless of real labor results not only disturbs the stimulating function of distribution according to labor but also does not lead to improved well-being, for it does not provide the equivalent to the wages paid. The consistency between wages and socially acknowledged labor results is today the most important prerequisite for upgrading social production efficiency and, on its basis, for improving the population's living standard. The solution of this problem will require the adoption and implementation of a set of measures covering all aspects of the functioning of the economy. Important among them are maintaining the necessary ratios in wages for labor of varying difficulty, complexity and results, and ensuring objectively necessary differentiations. Reducing differentiation at a faster pace than differences within labor itself disappear inevitably leads to unjustified equalization trends.

Wage differentiations can be studied and changed through a variety of means. In the formulation of the social aspects of national economic plans this is manifested covertly in the correlation between planned levels of minimal and average wages. Planning higher growth rates of minimal wages compared with the average inevitably eliminates differentiations. Thus, during the 8th 5-Year Plan minimal wages were raised between 30 and 50 percent, whereas average wages were raised by 26 percent. In the second half of the 1970s, however, the differentiation increased somewhat.

A certain stabilization of minimum wages guaranteed by the state during the 9th and 10th 5-year plans, as part of the planned growth rates of average wages, led to a certain increased in differentiation. As we pointed out this took place essentially through the intensification of intersectorial and interregional disparities while the strictly intraproduction differentiation, which performs the function of material incentive to the greatest extent, continued to be reduced. The spreading of equalization trends within enterprises occurred also as a result of the chronic shortage of manpower, triggered essentially by the existing mechanisms for assessing production activities. This contributed to the "stripping" of the least attractive jobs and led to the further spontaneous increase in the wages of unskilled workers. Today the unattractiveness of jobs is one of the essential factors in raising wage levels. At the same time, however, it also means that one of the main tasks is to reduce (or at least not to increase) within the national economy the amount of such work and the number of corresponding jobs.

Periodical increases in minimum wages are an economic necessity proceeding from the nature of socialist ownership, the guaranteed right to work and the steady development of the entire system of social requirements. However, decisions on setting a new minimum, given the insufficiency of funds for correspondingly increasing average wages and, consequently, the wage fund, have their shortcomings as well.

In formulating planned wage and income growth indicators, it is important to take into consideration the objective nature of processes which determine the differentiation, the elimination of which cannot be considered self-seeking and allegedly allowing us to accelerate the establishment of social homogeneity within society by lowering the number of low-paid workers and low-income families. It is quite obvious that such a reduction can take place gradually, on the basis and to the extent of changes within labor itself, the reduced share of unskilled labor, the increased level of professional knowledge and the existence of suitable jobs for those who previously performed simple work, etc. Any haste inevitably leads to the development of equalization trends with all consequent adverse features. The observance of objectively necessary amounts of differentiation (the study and forecasting of which is possible) presumes that the social programs must provide for a correlation between the growth rates of minimal and average wages.

The categories of low- and highly-paid workers and of low- and high-income families are relative and their quantitative limits change with changes in the attained level of well-being. Despite a 40 percent increase in average wages for the decade under consideration, and a 50 percent increase in the average per capita income, the group of relatively low-paid workers and relatively low-income families remains.

The main trend in perfecting the organization of wages is, unquestionably, strengthening their connection with labor results. This presumes a profound review of the current mechanisms for assessing the work efficiency of labor collectives.

In order to eliminate existing shortcomings in wages and to increase the stimulating role of earnings, we must draw up a long-term target program for perfecting the organization of wages, which would include a system of gradually implemented steps. The main task of such a program would be to ensure not only an average wage, as a certain trend, but also, in a maximal number of cases, a consistency between the measure of labor and labor wages. This will contribute to energizing collective and individual interests.

The other most important problem is the following: as we know, during the 1970s and beginning of 1980s a clear trend of faster growth of income and solvent population demand compared to the production of commodities and services was noticed. A shortage of a number of consumer goods was felt on the domestic market as a result of omissions in the work of agriculture, industry, trade and consumer services. However, it was not a matter of shortages only. Demand itself is assuming today a qualitatively new nature: the customer is asking for articles with different consumer qualities.

The main problem today in developing the domestic market and population services is the imbalance between supply and demand in terms of quality and variety. This creates a number of negative phenomena. Whereas some types and varieties of light-industry goods are in short supply in the stores, surpluses of other commodities accumulate. The growth rates of sales of consumer goods are declining. This is caused by three main reasons: the relatively high availability of traditional durable goods has been reached; most such

commodities are being sluggishly updated and their quality remains low, as a result of which the population has a lesser incentive to replace them; the "withdrawal" from the available variety of more inexpensive durable goods, which hinders purchases by people with a relatively low income.

One of the most important components of the population's living standard is the consumption of paid services. Data indicate that the volume of funds allocated within the family budget for services has increased by approximately one-half in the past decade. A trend has been noted in the structure of demand toward greater use of services provided by consumer establishments which are converting to new types of services, including those related to servicing household appliances, electrical appliances, radio and television sets, etc. Family budget outlays are also increasing for housing and communal services, which is related to the increased size of the housing and degree of comfort. In the USSR rents have not been raised since 1928 and, including communal services, account for 3 percent of all worker and employee family outlays. Insufficient variety and the not always high quality of services are restraining increased consumption. This can be seen, among others, by the insignificant differences in the share of outlays for services in families with different incomes.

In addition to the Food Program, the Comprehensive Program for the Development of the Production of Consumer Goods and Services in 1986-2000 is called upon to solve the main problems in the consumption of commodities and services and in balancing supply with demand. The qualitatively new nature of the programmed approach is precisely the fact that all problems related to the development of output aimed at satisfying the various population requirements are considered in their interconnection: shaping the needs themselves, developing scientific and technical progress in this area and relating capital investments to material and labor resources.

In resolving the problems of balancing consumer demand with supply of commodities and services, efforts are concentrated along three main directions: substantially upgrading their quality and variety on the basis of the comprehensive utilization of the achievements of scientific and technical progress; granting greater autonomy to enterprises producing and marketing consumer goods and services; finally, conducting efficient studies and shaping population demand and requirements.

One question which particularly arises is that of population pensions. Minimal old-age pensions for workers, employees and kolkhoz members has increased in the course of the recent 5-year plan periods; pension for disability and loss of breadwinner have been increased substantially. However, despite a superficially quite favorable situation in this area, compared with the general growth in the well-being of the entire population, the living standard of the retirees is rising significantly more slowly and its lagging behind the living standard of the economically active share of the population continues to increase.

One of the most urgent problems in improving pensions is that of increasing the old pensions. The problem of their periodical increase becomes more relevant in connection with the continuing development of the nuclearization

process (the separation of young families) and the increased number of families in which the pension becomes the only means of subsistence. The pensions of those who retired 20 or more years ago are between 30 and 40 rubles lower than of the recently retired. Pensions awarded workers, employees and their families more than 10 years ago, which did not exceed 60 rubles were raised as of 1 November 1985, bringing them closer to the level of pensions currently granted to workers with similar professions and skills. However, this affects no more than one-sixth of all retirees and applies essentially to people receiving a minimal pension. The problem remains.

One of the most important trends in perfecting the existing system is ensuring the consistency between the living standard of the pensioners and the population's well-being reached as a result of changes in wages, higher income and nature of social needs. The most efficient method would be to review on a differentiated basis all old-age pensions granted 10 or more years ago. After their simultaneous increase to the average, consistent with the current wage level, in the future pensions could be reviewed periodically only, using an automatic pension regulating system.

The widening of the gap between the average pension and the average wage is also the result of the obsolescence of the pension scale which was established in 1956: in practical terms, only two of its brackets are used: pensions based on wages ranging between 80 and 100 rubles and of over 100 rubles monthly; an increased number of people, whose earnings exceed 240 rubles are awarded a pension based on a lower rate than stipulated in the scale (50 percent), which violates the direct tie between pensions and past labor.

Understandably, measures taken to improve the pension system will require considerable funds. Such funds could be procured by changing the existing situation in which an increased number of people who have reached retirement age are allowed to receive both their pensions and a salary. In terms of their socioeconomic nature pensions are a guaranteed income for people who have lost their ability to work. The age set by the government, which allows individuals to take a deserved rest, is based on gerontological studies and is considered a period during which the activeness of the average worker declines substantially. Obviously, if a specific individual remains able-bodied and continues to work, his income, as a whole, will not be consistent with his labor return. Families of working pensioners turn out to be in the best material situation, for their income is 25 percent higher than that of the families of workers and employees and twice that of families subsisting on aid only. This fact introduces substantial disparities in the living standard of pensioners, which is hardly justified from the economic and, even more so, the social viewpoint.

Nevertheless, studies indicate that the main reason for the participation of pensioners in public production is the need to provide material aid to their children and grandchildren, which essentially encourages parasitical moods among young people. This takes the shape of free "loans" made by the older to the younger generation, which also entails negative consequences involving interpersonality relationships.

Understandably, it would be expedient to resolve the problem of young families not on the individual but on the social level and not at the expense of the senior generation but by providing, let us say, greater opportunities for consumer loans. Such loans should be repayable and based on the provision that their labor efficiency will increase, as a result of which the young people's salaries will be higher.

As we know, the existing practice is largely determined by the scarcity of manpower and the desire to interest retirees to continue to work. Naturally, however, the solution of this problem is related above all to the fastest possible reduction of the percentage of unskilled and uninteresting jobs (which are essentially performed by pensioners). It is also more efficient (less wasteful) to encourage the desire of the people to continue to work through the use of other measures. Pensions could play an important role in stimulating labor for the entire period of active work if a clear and consistently direct link exists between the efficiency of past labor and the amount of the pension and if increased pension for each additional year of work and its amount are based on the entire amount of the work invested by the individual.

Unquestionably, the law on pensions must be substantially revised in order to upgrade the efficiency of the entire pension system. We believe that its most important elements would be a new pension scale and definition of basic earnings (on the basis of which the pension is calculated), taking into consideration wages paid during the entire period of work, adapting it to the contemporary wage level.

The targets of the development of the socialist society determined the need to guarantee to all citizens the satisfaction of their most important social needs out of social consumption funds. This type of distribution is based on the principle of equal opportunities in the consumption of the most important social services. Nevertheless, an additional solvent demand for greater volume and improved quality of services, included those granted free of charge on a level guaranteed for the entire population, inevitably arises in family groups with above-average earnings. The impossibility of using such relatively high income for such purposes could and does lead to an exaggerated share of material consumption and to the appearance of a scarcity of high quality services in the various service industries. In order to avoid such conflicts it is important to take into consideration the extent to which the earnings of high-income population groups include payment for services in sectors which provide either free or low-paid services. Obviously, such requirements should be met out of individual earnings.

Housing is one of the socially important vital benefits which our society deems necessary and possible to guarantee. However, many problems related to the allocation of housing and the quantitative and qualitative determination of the levels of guaranteed satisfaction of the need for housing and other related problems remain unresolved.

Unquestionably, substantial successes have been achieved over the past decade in the country in housing construction. In particular, they have brought about a certain change in the content of the housing problem itself. Whereas

in 1970 it was reduced essentially to the low average availability of housing for the population, today the problem is that the pace of construction is not matching the increased population requirements and that the existing situation in terms of housing allocation and reallocation preserves an unjustifiably high interfamily differentiation in housing conditions. Essentially, this may occur either as a result of differentiation in income levels (wage differences and number of dependents) or as a result of socially granted benefits to individual members of society. A relatively low housing availability remains typical of big families with many children and young families with a potentially high birthrate.

Taking all of this into consideration, we believe that the housing problem cannot be resolved in full exclusively on the basis of increasing construction and improving its quality. The most important feature is a radical improvement in the mechanism of allocation and reallocation of housing on the basis of socially guaranteed norms of freely available housing for all citizens with the possibility of paying for improvements over and above stipulated standards. Such a procedure would enable us to make more efficient use of all available housing in the country, substantially to improve the housing conditions of a large population stratum, young families in particular, and significantly to reduce (and, in the future, totally eliminate) the waiting period for such improvements. To a certain extent, such improvements are already contemplated in the new Foundations of Housing Legislation of the USSR and Union Republics, in republic housing codes and in some special resolutions on housing benefits applicable to individual population categories (large families, the newlywed who join house-building cooperatives and others). Obviously, the specific implementation of the economic mechanism of housing allocation and reallocation requires, in our view, further improvements.

The overall development of social consumption funds brought about substantial changes in the nature and structure of consumption of free and low-paid services. Studies have indicated that disparities in the level of availability of such services have declined substantially. Social factors, affiliation with a specific social group above all, are increasingly losing their role as dominant features in determining differences in the level of consumption of such services. A study of the different population income groups shows that the consumption of public benefits tends to favor those with a lower income. This is fair, for it is precisely such groups that would show a particularly high "underconsumption" of services, should paying for them become necessary.

Nevertheless, an adverse trend is noted as well, related above all to the dominance of a primarily extensive development of the area of social services: the increased number of quantitative indicators of a substantially lowered quality. This lowers the efficiency of utilization of social consumption funds which no longer play an active role as an instrument of the distribution mechanism. This applies, above all, to health care and children's institutions.

Unquestionably, the further development of social service sectors is related not only to broadening the network of institutions (increased number of beds

and openings) but also the accelerated improvement in the quality of services, the more efficient utilization of already available facilities on the basis of substantially upgrading cadre skills consistent with their increased earnings and improving the organization of wages and rationalization of labor and enhanced incentives for the growth of professionalism.

The planning of measures in the area of the population's well-being and their rating according to their urgency and sequence should be based on a consideration of the criterion of health, because of its absolute and permanent value and exceptionally high position on the scale of social and individual life benefits. Particularly important in this connection is equipping medical institutions with the latest facilities and supplying them with modern pharmaceutical drugs in the necessary quantities. The study of the socioeconomic factors which influence health prove the tremendous role played in this connection by working conditions which are the main cause of chronic diseases. Nutrition is an essential factor. There is a direct link between the state of health and housing conditions. The level of material well-being is of some importance as well.

Shaping the cultural needs of the population and creating conditions which would ensure their satisfaction are structural components of the socioeconomic policy of the party and the Soviet state.

Providing relatively equal conditions for access to cultural benefits and services to all urban and rural population groups, i.e., implementing the constitutional guarantee of the developed socialist society, was, and remains, the main task in the realm of culture. The solution of this problem will continue to be achieved in some interrelated areas, such as improvements in material living conditions as a necessary prerequisite for spiritual development; shaping the cultural needs of the population; developing the network of cultural institutions and increasing the production of cultural and consumer goods.

Upgrading the efficiency with which funds allocated for cultural services are expended is organically related to the existing contradiction between the structure of cultural benefits provided to the population and the structural need for such benefits. A number of circumstances must be taken into consideration in this connection.

The structure of the population's cultural needs and the respective consumption of cultural goods are shaped and develop as a single entity. The erection of the "upper stories" of needs (nonprofessional creative activities, physical development exercises) is impossible without saturating simpler needs (newspapers, periodicals, movies, etc.). Therefore, the production of spiritual goods as well must be oriented toward satisfying simultaneously the entire set of cultural needs and developing and relating mass with individual types of cultural services within a single centralized management system.

A specific feature of services is their consumption at the site of their production. For the time being, however, this is quite insufficiently taken into consideration, for cultural institutions are developing essentially on the rayon or city level. Under the conditions of a large city the scarcity of

services at home and services provided by specialized cultural institutions of regional significance is beginning to play a decisive role.

Work with the population at home is currently assigned to the DEZ which, as communal economy establishments, are unable to play such a role in form or in essence. The rayon soviets of people's deputies operate on a level too high to engage in such daily activities, particularly in the large cities whose rayons may number into the hundreds of thousands of people. No intermediary level exists.

Obviously, the time has come to change this situation by creating in residential rayons (several microrayons) social centers for work with the population. They should be based on the development of collectivistic principles and on involving all population groups (children, young people, singles and the elderly) and, above all, families, in social life outside the home yet in its vicinity, and shaping sociocultural activities and a healthy way of life.

The growth of the people's well-being is based on the steady development of public production with the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and, therefore, an increase in the volume of consumer resources based on perfecting distribution relations. This enhances the role of the distribution mechanism, which has an impact on labor efficiency and, consequently, on the efficiency of public production, directly guaranteeing the satisfaction of the vital interests of every member of society.

Today, when the task of the maximal acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development has become particularly urgent, social reserves and the human factor assume an exceptionally important role. Their involvement requires, above all, finding the most efficient ways of resolving current problems.

This creates a new essential requirement concerning social planning: the planned programs for the growth of the national well-being should be increasingly based not on outlays, i.e., on the necessary resources for their implementation, but also on the results which accrue to society as a whole and to everyone of its individual members.

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CSO: 1802/2

ON THE NEW DRAFT CPSU PROGRAM AND THE BASIC DIRECTIONS IN THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE USSR IN 1986-1990 AND THE PERIOD UP TO THE YEAR 2000

THE TRUE METHOD OF COGNITION AND REVOLUTIONARY ACTION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 86 (signed to press 22 Jan 86) p 69

[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor V. Kokhanovskiy, dean, Philosophy Department, Rostov University]

[Text] The importance of dialectical materialism in the structure of the single and integral revolutionary theory is common knowledge. V.I. Lenin considered dialectics "decisive in Marxism," its "living soul" and the "basic theoretical foundation" of Marxist theory. The materialistic understanding of history made it possible to make dialectics truly scientific, "critical and revolutionary" (Marx), thanks to which it became a powerful spiritual weapon of the proletariat and a universal method for the revolutionary-practical reorganization of reality. As a manual for action, dialectics is applied in the process of elaboration and implementation of the political strategy and tactics, in the theory and practice of scientific management of socialist society, and so on, for here as well, as in the field of knowledge, in resolving individual problems we inevitably come across general problems which cannot be clarified without a dialectical-materialistic interpretation.

Therefore, in my view, it would be expedient for the concept of dialectical-materialistic methodology included in the new draft CPSU program (Part 2, Section V, Subsection 3) to read as follows: "Dialectical materialism was and remains the essential and tested universal method for the study of reality in its revolutionary-practical transformation. It must be creatively developed further and skillfully applied in research and in resolving the practical problems of society's economic, sociopolitical and spiritual development."

Since in such a text the essential concept relates not only to science but to political practice, ideological education, public education and cultural construction, literature, and art, it seems to me that it should be included in the preamble to Section V, Part 2.

In my view, said amendment would enable us to express more adequately the nature of dialectical materialism (its revolutionary-practical trend) and its significance in solving the variety of specific practical problems related to the necessary acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development.

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5003
CSO: 1802/8

SEVERAL SUGGESTIONS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 86 (signed to press 22 Jan 86) pp 69-70

[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor S. Shermukhamedov, department head, Tashkent University]

[Text] The open nationwide discussion of the most important precongress documents, the draft new edition of the CPSU program in particular, convincingly proves the democratic nature of our social system and the coincidence between the party's political concepts and the interests of all working people. Highly rating and warmly approving these documents, all of us try to make our possible contribution to the definitive formulation of the fundamental concepts which will define in the future the entire course of the country's economic and social development.

That is precisely why I would like to express a few considerations which, I hope, will be useful. The section on "Ideological Education Work, Training, Science and Culture" in the draft includes the essentially important thesis that "dialectical-materialistic methodology was and remains the essential and tested foundation of natural science and social knowledge." It seems to me that the suggestion which follows it should be slightly changed in order to refine its essence: "It should be skillfully applied in the future and theoretically developed in the areas of knowledge and practice." For it is precisely the experience in the use of dialectical-materialistic methodology that contributes to its own creative development and that of the methodology of specific areas of scientific knowledge.

The next paragraph stipulates that the attention of social scientists should be focused on the study and analysis of experience in global developments and the creation of a socialist society. I consider more adequate the following formulation of the scientists' tasks: "The attention of the social scientists must be focused on the study and comprehensive analysis of the experience of global development, the laws governing the establishment of a communist system and the means and methods through which real socialism in the USSR and the other socialist countries is reaching new qualitative levels of development and gradually advancing toward their higher stage. The efforts of the social scientist must be directed, in particular, to the profound study of the dialectics of production forces and production relations, the material and

spiritual spheres and the identification of the characteristic features and specifics of a transition to a new qualitative status of society."

This paragraph could be followed by listing some of the most important tasks of social scientists, such as:

"Enrich the theory of K. Marx, F. Engels and V.I. Lenin on communism, comprehensively contribute to the further development of Marxist-Leninist theory on the basis of the ties with life, sociohistorical practice, the natural and social sciences and scientific and technical progress."

The following could be added to the section on the party's tasks in cultural construction, literature and art:

"The party has always ascribed and ascribes great importance to the development of national cultures, supporting the trend of their interaction, reciprocal influence and reciprocal enrichment. Under the conditions of the advancement of socialism the importance of the internationalization of the spiritual culture of the peoples of the USSR increases and, with it, so does the need for the purposeful and highly competent management of this process, which is objective and beneficial to the entire society."

In my view, all of these suggestions are consistent with the needs of social development and the contemporary state of science and will contribute to the further harnessing and multiplication of the efforts of the people to resolve the problems set by the CPSU to our society.

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SUPREME OBJECTIVE OF SOCIALIST PRODUCTION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 86 (signed to press 22 Jan 86) pp 70-71

[Article by R. Malakhinova, docent, Moscow State University]

[Text] The very first draft of the program of the Social Democratic Party, which was written by V.I. Lenin in 1895, proceeded from the fact that the birth of a new system which would destroy the exploitation of man by man meant that the specific objective of production, was, in most general terms, the development of production "to benefit the working people themselves" (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 2, p 84). The draft RSDWP program, which was written with Lenin's active participation in 1902, formulated the political-economic concept of replacing capitalist production with a "socialist organization for the production of goods by the entire society, aimed at ensuring the total well-being and free and comprehensive development of all of its members" (op. cit., vol 6, p 204).

This classical definition of the objective trend of socialist production, fully consistent with the views of K. Marx and F. Engels on socialism, was crystallized in the 1890s as a result of Lenin's intensive theoretical activities. As we know, it was directly formulated during the debate with G.V. Plekhanov, which proved the uncompromising struggle waged by the founder of our party for having strictly scientific programmatic stipulations. The purpose of socialist production was similarly formulated in the second party program, which was also drafted under Lenin's direct guidance (see op. cit., vol 38, p 419).

Concern for the person has always been and remains the most important party programmatic stipulation, stemming from the basic economic law of socialism, and the objective trend and supreme target of socialist production. In theoretical and political-economic development, this target has been frequently defined as "the fullest possible satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of the working people." This formula has been considered identical to Lenin's. We believe that this definition does not express in full the specific nature of socialism and gives cause for accusing it of adopting a "consumerist approach." That is why we are deeply satisfied by the inclusion in the draft new edition of the CPSU program of Lenin's definition that the objective of socialist production is to ensure "the total well-being

and free and comprehensive development of all members of society" (op. cit., vol 6, p 232).

Nevertheless, in our view, said characterization must be included in the first section of the first part of the draft, which defines the level reached in the development of real socialism, and be repeated in the first section of the second part, which includes the Marxist-Leninist scientific model of communism in its higher phase.

The purpose of socialist production is found in the objective content of its production relations. Material production activities, as we know, are the main aspect of human activities. Production relations are material in nature, developing regardless of the desire and consciousness of the people. Their scientific analysis is impossible without a consideration of their social and historical nature. Since no economic relations exist without a social aspect, which Lenin particularly stressed in his debates with the "legal Marxists" (see "Leninskiy Sbornik IV" [Leninist Collection IV], p 32), the objective of the production process is necessarily a social objective also. It is important, consequently, to distinguish between the question of the ideological, spiritual and moral principles of communism as a social system as a whole and the question of the objective of material production, which is an element of the basic economic law of the new system and, in the final account, on which the entire system of values of the communist society is founded. If such is the case, the social trend in the development of the economy should be directly reflected also in the section on CPSU economic strategy. In the draft this trend is formulated for the first time in the section on "Social Party Policy." In my view, this does not erect an absolutely insurmountable barrier to any attempt at separating the economic from the social factors and the appearance of views according to which "external" objectives, borrowed from social policy, are introduced into the production process.

The most important objectively predetermined trend in the development of socialism which, in our view, must be more clearly reflected in the new draft of the CPSU program, is the unity of party economic and social strategy. This unity is expressed in the fact that the need to enhance the people's well-being and the comprehensive development of the working people is included in the 5-year and longer-range plans as leading guidelines. In the developed socialist stage the supreme objective of socialist production is manifested in the supreme objective of CPSU economic strategy most adequately. "The supreme purpose of the country's accelerated socioeconomic development," the April 1985 Central Committee Plenum emphasized, "is considered by the CPSU in upgrading steadily, step by step, the well-being of the people, improving all aspects of life of the Soviet people and creating favorable conditions for the harmonious development of the individual."

In summation, I specifically suggest the following: a. To include the following in Point 2 of the first section of the first part of the draft in characterizing the level of developed socialism reached by the country: "Planned production develops with a view to achieving the 'full well-being and free and comprehensive development of all members of society' (Lenin);" b. Add the following to section 1 of part 2 of the draft: "The party considers the implementation of the supreme objective of socialist production, which

consists of ensuring the full well-being and comprehensive development of the members of society, the full meaning of the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development;" c. To introduce in Section 2 of Part 2 of the draft the stipulation relative to the supreme objective of economic strategy, reflecting the needs of the basic economic law and the supreme objective of public production under socialism.

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A REVOLUTIONARY IDEA IN SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL PROGRESS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 86 (signed to press 22 Jan 86) pp 71-73

[Article by Doctor of Technical Sciences Professor P. Oshchepkov, honored worker in science and technology of the RSFSR and honored inventor of the RSFSR]

[Text] The radical acceleration of scientific and technical progress is a basic problem of Communist Party economic strategy. The draft new edition of the party program mentions the importance of ensuring the "faster development of basic research and achieving the fastest possible implementation of scientific ideas in the national economy and other areas of human activities."

In Section V Part 2 we read that "the party supports daring search and competition of ideas and trends in science, and fruitful discussion."

At the contemporary stage in the development of our country, these concepts are extremely necessary.

The precongress documents note the characteristic features of the growth of public production under the new circumstances and draw attention to some disproportions and contradictions which must be eliminated. In the power industry, for example, which is the base of all activities in contemporary society, these characteristics are as follows:

1. Increased power availability has led to a substantial exhaustion of natural extracted deposits of all kinds (coal, petroleum, uranium, etc.). The figures are universally known: on the basis of current increased consumption, mined fuel will be exhausted in no more than 150-200 years. Today more than 2 million tons of coal and about 2 million tons of petroleum and gas condensate are extracted and, consequently, destroyed within a single day in our country alone. Outlays of power resources double each 20 years. At the same time excellent chemical raw materials are destroyed as well.

2. The increasingly energetic use of mined fuels has contributed and will contribute further to the disturbance of the ecological balance of the entire environment. The reduced amount of oxygen and the increased amount of carbon dioxide in the earth's atmosphere have a nefarious influence not only on all animate nature but also on the global heat balance. The consequences of this

process are universally known and will become irreversible unless radical changes are made in the energy procurement system.

3. The current excessive concentration of energy at places where it is generated in powerful and superpowerful thermo-, hydro- and nuclear power centers involves a sharp contradiction: the subsequent utilization of energy presumes, conversely, its dispersal through main and distribution grids among innumerable major and minor consumers, all the way to individual light bulbs.

4. The construction of powerful and superpowerful energy centers inevitably leads to exceptionally heavy dependence of activities in huge parts of the country on their uninterrupted work. In case of war such power centers and related main power transmission cables could become the main targets of attack.

5. Today electric power affects all aspects of our life. Even the slightest disturbance in the work of big power generating centers is fraught with immediate consequences to factories, plants, electrified transport facilities and virtually all activities of huge areas. Such consequences could be particularly severe in winter, should disturbances occur in heat and water supplies and other services.

6. The current practice of building powerful and superpowerful generators and large and small electric power substations is related, as we know, to the problem of the consumption of nonferrous metals, copper above all, the proven reserves of which in our country are not all that substantial.

All of this indicates the need to adopt a broader approach to the problem, i.e., to look for essentially new sources of energy.

The founders of science, such K.E. Tsiolkovskiy, V.I. Vernadskiy, N. Tesla, S.G. Strumilin, S.I. Vavilov, F. Joliot-Curie and others, repeatedly pointed out in their study of the development of the means for advancing the material standards of mankind, the possibility of mastering the processes of the natural circulation of energy in nature. Energy is indeed scattered around us. We live in a literal "ocean" of energy with a mean temperature of about 300 degrees K. It is only the relatively minor fluctuations of this level that are perceived by our common consciousness as "warmth" or "cold." Our thoughts, as a rule, do not go beyond these concepts.

The development of contemporary science and technology, both at home and abroad, has already come close to the possibility of using the energy of the environment. According to MIREK data, for example, by the year 2000 the overall capacity of environmental energy used with the help of heat pumps (i.e., machines which enable us to transfer heat from a less to a more heated body with the help of mechanical energy outlays) will be 100-150 million kilowatts, or the equivalent of approximately 30 to 50 Bratsk hydroelectric power plants. The capacity of already installed systems using heat pumps abroad totals several million kilowatts.

In our country as well such projects have been and are underway. It is true that they were greatly harmed by the subjectivistic attitude adopted by some

noted specialist 25 years ago and despite the fact that already a certain progress had been made their development was hindered. Attention to them has become reawakened in recent years only.

However, the true solution of the problem of utilizing environmental energy is the systematic development of a system of controlled cycles of the natural circulation of energy converting from one type to another, based on energy concentration. Unfortunately, thermal pumps are not free from centralized or other power supplies, for which reason, on the strategic level, they fail to meet the necessary requirements.

After rather lengthy preparations with the participation, in their time, of S.I. Vavilov, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Academician I.P. Bardin, USSR Academy of Sciences vice-president, USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member (and subsequently Academician) S. A. Vekshinskiy, Academicians I.V. Obreimov and G.M. Krzhizhanovskiy, and many noted scientists from Moscow State University imeni M.V. Lomonosov and other training and scientific institutions, the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium passed a special decree on this problem.

The Social Institute for Energy Inversion was created in 1967 on the initiative of a number of Moscow scientists and other specialists under the "umbrella" of the All-Union Scientific and Technical Society for the Instrument Making Industry imeni S.I. Vavilov. Its purpose was to provide a scientific substantiation for the problem of the utilization of the energy dispersed in the environment (from the Latin inverti--turning, changing). Today the institute employs hundreds of specialists. The scientific and technical council of this social institute alone numbers more than 50 professors, doctors, candidates of sciences and other specialists, despite the fact that little information has been acquired on the nature of this problem and activities in this area. Several all-union scientific conferences on this problem have been held.

Some experimental results have been achieved since the institute was organized, confirming the expediency of such research which is of essential significance, and the expectations of a number of leading natural scientists.

Today the expediency of work on problems of energy inversion is no longer questioned. The solution of this problem will give us real possibilities of considerably reducing outlays of mined fuel and protect it as most valuable chemical raw material. Above all, it will enable us to obtain billions and billions of additional kilowatt-hours of energy and radically to improve environmental ecological conditions.

Without belittling the significance of other studies, including those conducted in the areas of renewable energy resources, such as solar, wind, tide and others, the question of developing research on the utilization of the dispersed energy in the environment should be considered urgent (the author describes this problem in his book "Mechta i Zhizn" [Dream and Life], the fourth edition of which was published by Izdatelstvo Moskovskiy Rabochiy in 1984--editor). This would make possible the more efficient use of powerful

energy generating centers to provide power for large-scale and energy-intensive technological processes.

All of nature around us is in a state of continuous motion and the study of this motion clearly reveals technically acceptable and economically justified means of utilization of the inexhaustible biological and absolutely harmless reserves of energy contained in the environment. The organization of such work on the state level would yield substantial results over the next 5 to 10 years. I therefore think expedient the following addition to Section V of the Basic Directions, Subsection "Fuel-Energy Complex:" "To develop systematic scientific and technical work on the problem of energy inversion."

In his work "Dialectics of Nature," considering this problem, Friedrich Engels wrote: "The question of what is being done with the heat which is lost was raised so to say nettement (straightforwardly, without dodging--editor) as late as 1867 (Klausius). It is not astounding that it remains unresolved; in all likelihood, it will take a great deal of time to resolve it, considering our modest means. However, it will be resolved. This is as certain as the fact that no miracles occur in nature..." (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 20, p 599). Today all necessary conditions for making this brilliant prediction come true exist.

The opinion expressed by K.E. Tsiolkovskiy is entirely consistent with this: "The reversibility of phenomena will confirm the eternal youth of the universe and will provide.... great technical prospects for the concentration of energy." Energy is everywhere around us and it is our duty to put it on the service of building communism!

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ECONOMICAL UTILIZATION OF TIMBER RESOURCES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 86 (signed to press 22 Jan 86) pp 73-75

[Article by A. Liseyev, member of the USSR Geographic Society]

[Text] Our country is richest in timber resources. The USSR is in first place in the world in terms of timber-covered area and timber reserves. Problems of the efficient utilization of timber and of economy, thrift and elimination of timber losses, perfecting the planning and organization of production in the timber and paper manufacturing industries and restructuring the way of thinking of economic managers and scientific workers have assumed a great urgency in recent years.

Practical experience indicates that timber losses are a natural result of extensive methods for the development of the timber economy. Losses can be eliminated through intensified timber utilization, which must begin at timber procurement areas.

The general situation is as follows: as a rule, plans for the procurement of commercial lumber are higher than plans for its delivery. Such a pursuit of "gross timber output" and the aspiration to increase the planned volume of felling, year after year, essentially doom a certain percentage of the forests and procured timber to loss and waste of material resources and the labor of timber procurement workers.

Efforts are sometimes made to blame exclusively the Ministry of Railways for timber underprocurements to consumers. However, matters are by no means that simple. In December 1981 the railroads were unable to provide 2,500 freight cars daily. Despite the scarcity, however, the timber procurement workers left 127 freight cars unused every day. This means that actually the ministry was even supplying them with more freight cars than necessary.

In September 1983 the Ministry of Railways was unable to provide 1,200 freight cars daily, which meant that it had more than doubled its deliveries of freight cars compared with December 1981. On a daily basis the timber procurement workers were leaving unused 253 cars or twice the 1981 number. In the first 5 months of 1985 the Ministry of Railways fell short by 1,033 freight cars daily whereas the Ministry of Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry left 424 freight cars unused. Therefore, compared with

the December 1981, the Ministry of Railways began to work better while the Ministry of Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry, worse, although this ministry is allocated 40 million rubles annually for the development of transportation (warehouses, reach-of-crane tracks, etc.).

Therefore, car scarcity is not an excuse for the irresponsibility and negligence of the timber procurement workers themselves. Timber can and must be preserved for long periods of time, for dozens of years! Naturally, that is, with proper care and strict observance of storage technology.

In our view, the solution of this problem is possible with a creation of a state timber reserve in warehouses located directly in the forests, where all timber should be stored. It is here that the timber will be graded by species and quality, the bark removed and the natural drying take place. In a word, the timber should be stored in a way which will not worsen but, conversely, improve its marketable value.

The creation of such a state reserve would enable us to do the following: 1. to supply the country with treated and bark-free dry timber which, as a whole, would save 1.5 billion rubles (not to mention prevent situations in which enterprises are left short of needed varieties and with a surplus of unneeded ones, which leads to breakdowns and, sometimes, production stoppages); 2. to save on energy (natural drying); 3. lower procurement volumes, for the use of stripped dry timber drastically reduces requirements; 4. reduce the area occupied by railroad station warehouses, which should store no more than the amount needed for uninterrupted loading.

The question of timber procurements in winter should be raised as well. The point is that timber procured in the winter is about twice more durable than timber procured in summer. During the summer, furthermore, the need for manpower is greater than in winter. It is no accident that in the past the peasants procured their wood in winter. In winter there is no need to build year-round roads. This is a major economy of manpower and raw material and monetary resources. Winter procurements are less harmful to forests and, particularly, to the soil. We believe that the state long-term plan should be oriented primarily toward winter timber procurements (assigning the personnel of the State Committee for Forestry to help the Ministry of Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry).

It is entirely obvious that in order to ensure the rational use of the timber, we should cut slow-growing species, avoiding trees which promise a faster growth. Presently, however, the ministry has no such possibility, for it lacks the necessary information on the potential probable growth of timber in the specific areas.

In order to make knowledgeable and efficient use of timber resources, i.e., to intensify forestry, a governmental service in charge of growth should be organized in the forests and records kept of the growth of timber in the individual territories. This will enable us to obtain additionally about 1 million cubic meters of timber, which is currently irretrievably lost, because of lack of records, and annually to preserve 6,000 hectares in timber.

The organization of such a service, in our view, would enable us to determine, knowledgeably and objectively in each specific case, the age of the logs, lower expenditures for current timber management and provide a more accurate picture of the condition of the forests.

Extensive timber procurement methods have resulted in the fact that in the past 50 years a trend toward the steady lowering of the age of the logs has prevailed. As a result, the timber industry is continually facing the worsening problem of reduced shipments of timber for sawing, for instance. This, however, as the saying goes, is only half the trouble. The lowered age of the logs increases the logged areas and leads to a drop in their productivity, to worsened quality and lowered durability of wood products. In turn, once again, this necessitates the increased volume of timber procurements in the future.

The other reason for timber losses is the inefficient organization of maintenance logging. It is entirely obvious that its purpose is to improve the structure of the forests and to increase their productivity. In fact, however, quite frequently the opposite is the case. After such maintenance logging, the timber crop not only does not increase but, conversely, declines sharply. According to our observations, in the case of the Buzuluk pine, after such maintenance logging the productivity of mossy pine frequently declines (by as much as a factor of 6). Obviously, this is the result not only of damages caused to the trees but also the worsened conditions for their growth. Finally, the crop is not fully harvested also because in clearing, thinning and opening tracks it is precisely the trees which should provide the main increase in the future crop that are cut either because of ignorance of the nature of the forest or, sometimes, even deliberately. The trouble here is that efforts are made by maintenance logging to reduce the volume of main-use logs by engaging in maintenance logging. As a result, instead of yielding benefits this forestry measure causes harm. Therefore, procurement plans should exclude timber coming from maintenance logging, which should be used for local needs, and maintenance should be planned for timber areas needing care. The ministry should be forbidden to engage in maintenance logging, which should be entrusted to the State Committee for Forests.

The conversion to intensive forestry management methods and the urgent need to eliminate the reasons for timber losses demand, in our view, the creation of reliable prerequisites for the comprehensive establishment of a system for the economical utilization of timber resources. To this end we deem it expedient to add to the point on forestry tasks, in the draft Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and the Period Until the Year 2000 the following stipulations: a service in charge of the growth (timber crop) to be organized in the country's forests, and a time record of growth be kept by territory; the age of the logs in the country's forests should be based on their maximal biological productivity; a state timber reserve to be organized in the forests, in areas convenient for timber storing, preservation and shipping.

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PRACTICAL STEPS TO IMPROVE MANAGEMENT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 86 (signed to press 22 Jan 86) pp 75-76

[Article by Doctor of Economic Sciences Professor O. Kozlova]

[Text] The high pace of scientific and technical and social progress not only leads to significant changes in production but also requires the development of new qualities in management itself, making it considerably more difficult and promoting its steady advancement.

Yet, as practical experience indicates, considering the entire system as a whole, such work is still poorly organized. In this connection, the following suggestions are made relative to the draft Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and the Period Until the Year 2000 ("Improving National Economic Management" section):

1. Taking into consideration the importance of the systematic approach to managing economic development, formulation of a general plan for national economic management in the USSR. The plan should include the following: a system for state management, a system for managing the production and nonproduction spheres, and a system for managing territorial-production projects.

The general plan for national economic management would enable us clearly to establish rational ties among individual organizations in the country, and the extent of responsibility of each body and its rights and obligations. This will create efficiency in management, reduce the need for communicating and the number of steps necessary in solving urgent problems.

2. The problem of perfecting territorial management and properly combining it with sectorial management is an important and difficult one for our country.

So far, the infrastructure which determines the social conditions of the population's life is managed by territorial bodies only, while production facilities, which create economic conditions for human life, are essentially managed by sectorial bodies. In our view, the social infrastructure and production, as the exclusive conditions which determine the well-being of the people, should be managed jointly by sectorial production and territorial bodies. We must codify an efficient system for such joint management and

determine the nature of interrelationships among the respective bodies and their rights and obligations.

The proper combination of sectorial with territorial management systems also includes the efficient management of intersectorial processes which are of tremendous economic significance.

3. Cadres trained in solving management problems must play a major role in all such steps.

In this connection, the training of specialists in management, taking into consideration the specific nature of the sectors and level of activities, must be expanded and the quality of such training upgraded. It would be expedient to increase the training of specialists in areas, such as cadre management, quality control, control of new developments, small-enterprise management, etc. This would enable us to train cadres of specialists who have profoundly mastered a specific area of management and who would be able, from the very start of their practical work, to make a real contribution to improving production affairs.

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CSO: 1802/8

LEVERS FOR INTENSIFYING THE ECONOMY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 86 (signed to press 22 Jan 86) pp 76-77

[Article by M. Raman, Latvian SSR Gosplan chairman]

[Text] The task of accelerating our country's socioeconomic development raises increasingly stricter requirements pertaining to planning, which is the core of national economic management. Today planning must become an active lever in production intensification and in the implementation of progressive economic solutions; it must ensure the steady, balanced and dynamic growth of the economy.

Problems of improving planning have been comprehensively considered in the draft Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and the Period Until the Year 2000. Nevertheless, we would like to suggest some supplements to its text.

Section III of the draft includes the task of "creating a single statewide system for planning, recording, certifying and improving the efficiency of jobs." In our view, a different draft should be considered. For example, in this same paragraph the words "certification and rationalization of jobs" should be added after the words "more actively introducing a scientific organization of labor," while the item on the single statewide system for planning and recording jobs should be formulated differently, as follows: "to create a single statewide system for planning, registering and defining the limits of the number of workers on the basis of detailed territorial manpower balances."

This suggestion is based, above all, on the fact that with the accelerated scientific and technical progress, the very concept of "job" becomes exceptionally flexible. Today production intensification is such that even within a single year the initially planned number of jobs may be repeatedly amended downwards. This, however, creates the danger that a strict planning of the number of jobs could, in principle, cause some obstruction in the progressive process of their reduction. Furthermore, in itself a "job" is always second to the "number of workers," which is based on the manpower balance. Naturally, the certification and rationalization of jobs should play an important role among the many technical and organizational means and measures aimed at ensuring the implementation of production and other

assignments with the stipulated number of workers. The existence of a detailed manpower balance drafted for each year within the planned 5-year period must, in turn, become an efficient instrument for the planned reassignment of personnel. Naturally, on a parallel basis, we must improve the entire system for upgrading cadre skills and their retraining, as noted in Section X of the draft. This suggestion is supported also by the fact that setting maximal numbers has already become part of the planning instruments. The suggested method for planning, registering and certifying jobs remains rather complex. Furthermore, it could create unnecessary duplication in terms of determining the maximal size of the personnel. Therefore, it would be quite adequate to formulate programs for improving job efficiency subsequent to job certifications. At that point, guided by the ceilings for the size of the personnel and allocated resources for the 5-year plan, the enterprises or other organizations will themselves determine the necessary number of jobs they need, thus making use of all available facilities for setting up their own funds by fulfilling their planned assignments with fewer people.

Since the drafting of detailed territorial manpower balances is a major part of planning the comprehensive economic and social development of territories, it would be expedient to include in the task formulated above the creation of a single statewide system for planning, registering and defining the maximal number of workers, in Section XIV of the draft.

Computers, the development of which is defined in Section IV of the draft, are an important means in planning the rational utilization of manpower. It would be expedient to add to the corresponding paragraph, after the words "data processing and transmission network" a formula on the need to achieve the gradual unification of such networks within a statewide information-computer grid. All such work to be done with a view to ensuring the complete unification of such grids.

A similar demand was formulated in the directives of the 24th CPSU Congress on the 5-year plan for the development for the Soviet national economy in 1971-1975. However, its implementation was abandoned at the start of the 1980s. Furthermore, the present level of development of the corresponding technical facilities and the scale of the tasks included in Section XIV of the draft demand, in our view, the resumption and acceleration of the work in that area. In this connection, let us particularly emphasize the need "to ensure the full unification of such grids." We know that as a result of insufficient coordination, the principles of organizational, information, mathematical, instrumental, and, as a whole, technological unity of the functioning and newly created automated systems of different types and levels are severely infringed because of insufficient coordination.

The program-target planning and management method is being increasingly applied in the national economy. It is becoming an equal "partner" of sectorial and territorial planning. Section XIV of the draft accurately sets the task of ensuring unity among sectorial, territorial and program planning and upgrading the standard of planning in interrelated sectors and improving planning of the comprehensive, economic and social development of territories. We believe, however, that the essence of this task could be more precisely reflected if formulated as follows: "Upgrading the efficiency of the program-

tankers). This would substantially improve the organization of freight hauling itself. Sitching trailers and truck tractors could be achieved easily at loading and unloading areas, the total run of the trucks per trip could be extended and the volume of haulage increased.

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POSSIBILITIES OF COOPERATIVE OWNERSHIP UNDER REAL SOCIALISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 86 (signed to press 22 Jan 86) p 78

[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences V. Alekseyeva, senior scientific associate, USSR Academy of Sciences, Institute of Philosophy]

[Text] The task of comprehensively perfecting socialist society, included in the draft new edition of the CPSU program, must be resolved by taking into consideration the contemporary condition of all factors on which our development and its acceleration depend to any given extent. One of them is cooperative ownership. In this respect, I would like to emphasize the following familiar stipulation: before abandoning one type of economic mechanism or another, its potential must be utilized in full. The possibilities of cooperative ownership which, as we know, has been given a socialist content in our society, have still not been totally exhausted.

The experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries proves that on the basis of such ownership it is possible, to begin with, to achieve a certain increase in labor productivity and quality in agricultural production, trade and consumer services. Secondly, it offers opportunities for the fuller utilization of manpower, for it is easier to employ pensioners, the disabled, adolescents, and women caring for small children in cooperative enterprises. Thirdly, the output of such enterprises could make a substantial contribution to the overall volume and variety of goods in mass demand. Fourthly, the functioning of cooperatively owned coffee shops, restaurants and workshops, kept under steady and efficient state control, can relieve families from a certain amount of household work and help them to engage in their main occupation, which is to organize their leisure time in the interests of developing the individual and the raising of children (although, unquestionably, the overall solution of this problem is related to the development of the state system for public education and services, included in the precongress documents).

That is why we are very pleased to note that the draft new edition of the CPSU program points out that the process of convergence and future merger of kolkhoz-cooperative ownership with ownership by the whole people "will take place as a result of the comprehensive development and strengthening of both forms of socialist ownership and the increasing use of the possibilities provided by the kolkhoz-cooperative economic sector." It would be expedient

for this concept to be somewhat concretized and to describe in greater detail the importance of the maximal utilization of all possibilities offered by cooperative ownership in town and country in the interest of building socialism and communism. It should be emphasized that this use must be efficient and consistent with the basic socioeconomic foundations of our society, which exclude any possible sliding toward private enterprise and "cooperative socialism."

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BLOCKING BUREAUCRATISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 86 (signed to press 22 Jan 86) p 78

[Article by Academician V. Ginzburg, CPSU member since 1944]

[Text] I support the suggestion of Academician V. Goldanskiy (KOMMUNIST, No 17, 1985, p 74) of adding to the new draft of the CPSU program words on the importance of ensuring the faster development of basic research.

In turn, I suggest that the new draft program emphasize a most important task, such as the struggle against bureaucratism. The current document mentions bureaucratism only incidentally (see Subsection "Advancement of Socialist Production Relations, the Management System and Economic Management Methods," in Part 2, Section 2 "Party Economic Strategy"). This is insufficient. I suggest that a special paragraph be added to the program, to read approximately as follows:

"The party deems the struggle against bureaucratism, which was repeatedly indicated by V.I. Lenin, one of its most important tasks. Blocking bureaucratism in all its forms and manifestations should be always in the center of attention of the party organizations."

Naturally, other formulations may be suggested as well. The meaning of such a supplement and its social significance, however, are unquestionable.

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THE UNION OF LEARNING, LABOR, GYMNASTICS AND BEAUTY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 86 (signed to press 22 Jan 86) pp 79-80

[Article by Hero of Socialist Labor, Honored Teacher of the Ukrainian SSR I. Tkachenko, senior teacher at the Kirovograd Pedagogical Institute, candidate of pedagogical sciences]

[Text] Like all Soviet people, I approve and support the draft new edition of the CPSU program, for the pulse of our socialist homeland and the creative thought of our Communist Party beats in each one of its lines and words.

I am a teacher. I have learned a great deal in 50 years of teaching in a rural school, above all the fact that it is necessary, while enriching the minds of the school students with knowledge of all the wealth created by mankind, also to develop every student as a person, as a citizen of the socialist society and as an active builder of communism, with his inherent clear ideological concepts, communist morality, public interests and high standards of labor and moral behavior.

This requires providing optimal conditions for the activities of the school collective--teachers and students--with the active support of parents, workers at the base enterprise and the public. The current reform must also contribute to this. The teachers welcomed the USSR law "On Amendments in the Foundations of the Legislation of the USSR and Union Republics on Public Education in Connection with the Directions of the Reform of General Education and Vocational Schools," which was adopted at the 4th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th Convocation. Perfecting the legislation which regulates our activities will provide a firm legal foundation for the efficient implementation of the steps planned by the Communist Party and Soviet state for the further development of the public education system, taking into consideration the need for accelerating the socioeconomic development of our country and the prospects of building communism.

The historical experience acquired in the establishment and development of Soviet schools proves that the early involvement of students with productive toil and the elimination of age restrictions for adolescents, boys and girls, related to operating industrial machine tools and agricultural machinery in the course of labor training, contributes to the all-round and harmonious

development of the individual, for in the course of active work productive toil is combined with training and the school student becomes part of the system of real socialist relations.

This experience is fully consistent with Marx's viewpoint. In the first volume of "Das Kapital" he described the type of sensible social system in which "for all children above a certain age productive labor will be combined with training and gymnastics not only as one of the means for upgrading public production but also as the only means for the production of comprehensively developed people" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 23, p 495).

In his speech at the 3rd Komsomol Congress, V.I. Lenin said: "The Communist Youth Union must train everyone from an early age in conscientious and disciplined work" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 41, p 318).

The pedagogical concept of A.S. Makarenko, applied at the Colony imeni M. Gorkiy and the Commune imeni F.E. Dzerzhinskiy and the activities of the First Experimental Public Education Station, which S.T. Shatskiy created, with its two sections: urban (Moscow) and rural (the "Bodraya Zhizn" School-Commune in Ugodsko-Zabodskiy Rayon, Kaluga Oblast) confirm the fruitfulness of the conclusions of the classics.

We include among them the unique experience in labor upbringing, training and vocational guidance of students, both in form and in content, theoretically substantiated and practically implemented by V.A. Sukhomlinskiy at the secondary school in Pavlysh.

Creative efforts to achieve an optimal variant in labor education and educational guidance of secondary school students under the conditions of industrial production are a development of the pedagogical ideas of N.K. Krupskaya, A.S. Makarenko and V.A. Sukhomlinskiy. For more than 20 years the most successful among them has been that at the Chayka Plant in Moscow, headed by the talented educator-innovator V.F. Karmanov.

In recent years schools-complexes have appeared, become established and gained national fame (Dedurovskaya in Orenburg Oblast, Grigoropolisskaya Order of the Labor Red Banner in Stavropol Kray, Sumyachi in Smolensk Oblast, Sakahnovskaya in Cherkassy Oblast, Komyshevatskaya in Kirovograd Oblast, the Mamlyuta Boarding School in the Kazakh SSR, Khaldanskaya in the Azerbaijan SSR and others.

What characterizes these schools?

First, their scientific regimen of the school day and work week, which makes possible changing the types of training and learning activities of the students on the basis of combining training with productive labor, gymnastics and aesthetics;

Second, including in the training-education complex courses in music, sports and arts;

Third, providing a single pedagogical guidance in the work of kindergartens located on school or microrayon territory;

Fourth, the creation, jointly with base enterprises, of school agroindustrial complexes, which enable the teaching staff to include all students from the first to the tenth grade, in productive socially useful labor throughout the school year;

Fifth, the efficient intrascholastic system for training education cadres, which involves the study of the latest pedagogical and psychological achievements, progressive pedagogical experience and mastery of the art of education innovators.

The teaching staff of the Khaldanskaya secondary school, headed by Z.G. Shoyubov, people's teacher of the USSR, set up its school production training combine and agricultural vocational training school, thus offering its eighth grade graduates the real opportunity, in their own village and school, of having a free choice of means of acquiring a secondary vocational education and mastering a practical skill and readiness to work in industrial and agricultural production and consumer services.

For more than 10 years this unique experience in the work of schools-complexes has been exciting the pedagogical public in the country.

We, practical school workers, believe that there is a science which is based on educational initiative as well as a science which is "nurtured" only through the "hydroponics" of ivory-tower conclusions. Unquestionably, the first is pushing the second out.

The science of education must provide its daily conclusions and recommendations directly pertaining to educational practices. A united collective of teachers-researchers, jointly aspiring toward the steady advancement of the training and education process, must do creative work in the schools. Obviously, here as well we cannot do without the integration among school, science and production. This calls for the creation of scientific-production pedagogical associations, as convincingly argued in the article "The People's Teacher" (see KOMMUNIST, No 13, 1982, p 12).

The new draft of the CPSU program cannot be read without emotion. The part on "the further development and rapprochement and, in the future, merger between vocational and general educational schools" triggered profound thoughts in my colleagues and myself.

This is a broad global task! It will demand both new research and the old permanent involvement of all teaching staffs and individual teachers and educators.

In the light of this, I suggest that the following be added to Section "V. Ideological-Upbringing Work, Education, Science and Culture," which discusses labor training: "The party ascribes particular importance to the labor

upbringing of the growing generation and the scientific combination of training with productive toil, gymnastics and aesthetics and involving all students, starting with the junior grades in systematic, continuing, daily, organized productive and socially useful labor consistent with their state of health and age--in real work needed by society."

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CSO: 1802/8

CONSIDERING THE DRAFT'S FORMULATIONS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 86 (signed to press 22 Jan 86) pp 80-81

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences Professor I. Krivoguz]

[Text] The CPSU program is a document of tremendous ideological-political and theoretical significance. That is why the accuracy of its formulations and conceptual systems is particularly important for they will subsequently become the guidelines of researchers and propagandists. In this connection, I would like to draw attention to the manner in which some problems of global development are reflected in the draft new edition of the CPSU program.

Let us begin with the contemporary age. I believe that it would be better to include the description of the global process initiated with the Great October Socialist Revolution, in the first part, not in different terms ("universal-historical process of social liberation," "world revolutionary process" and "social development") but, in all cases, uniformly, preferably as the "universal-historical process of social liberation," for this concept reflects more fully the variety of the process and the combination of revolution with evolution.

Said first part of the draft clearly stipulates that the transition from capitalism to socialism is the fundamental core of our epoch. In this connection, the definition of the present age, contained in the penultimate paragraph, Part 1, as "the age of transition from capitalism to socialism" appears incomplete, in my view, for it does not take into consideration the possibility that a number of countries will convert to socialism from precapitalist systems something which, incidentally, is mentioned earlier. I also believe that the final characterization of the contemporary epoch after the socialist revolution should be more accurately described as democratic revolutions rather than only as one of their variety--national-liberation revolutions.

Questions arise regarding the use of the term "age of imperialism" in section 1, part 1. In speaking of the "age of imperialism," as we know, Lenin meant the higher stage of development of capitalism, which did not end in the least in 1917. In the draft, however, it is a question of an age in universal history initiated with the Great October Revolution, characterized as the age of transition from socialism to communism. In this connection, it seems to me

that it would be better to state that the 1905-1907 revolution was the first people's revolution not in the age but under the conditions of imperialism.

Secondly, let us consider the question of the working class and the communist movement. The thesis of the working class as the most revolutionary class of the contemporary age is, in my view, suitably formulated at the very beginning of Section II, Part 1, which describes the contemporary stage in the universal-historical process of social liberation, for the global socialist system itself is the historical gain of the international working class. It would be also important to emphasize the commonality of basic interests of the working class in socialist and capitalist countries despite differences in their status and roles.

In Section II, Part 1, the international communist movement is described as the vanguard of the "workers movement and all forces of the world revolutionary process," and as the most influential ideological and political force of our time. In subsequent paragraphs, however, in addition to listing the distinguishing features of the revolutionary parties of the working class, it is a question almost exclusively of problems related to the activities of communist parties of capitalist countries. This may lead to the idea that the international communist movement is limited to the capitalist countries and does not include the communist parties in the socialist countries. Obviously, it would be more expedient to provide here or subsequently a specific characterization of the world communist movement. In Section I, Part 1, we read about "right-wing opportunism" and right-wing and "left-wing" opportunists. However, in the precise meaning of this term, as used by Lenin, "opportunism" means accommodation with capitalism and compromise with the bourgeoisie. Left-wing adventurism does not fit this definition and there are not grounds for describing its supporters as "left-wing" opportunists. This eliminates the need to write about "right wing-opportunism" and "right-wing opportunists." It would be more accurate if Subsection 3, Section V, Part 2, speak not about "reformist" but of "social-reformist ideology," which includes the spreading of bourgeois reformism.

The third point concerns the main forces of social development. The first question which arises here is the expediency of defining in a program which will cover a long historical period the affiliation of one country or another with the socialist community only on the basis of its participation in CEMA and the Warsaw Pact. Laos, for example, which was described at the 26th CPSU Congress as a member of the socialist community, is not a member of these organizations. The geographic limits of the Warsaw Pact are restricted to Central and Eastern Europe. Will such a definition be consistent with the long-range development and expansion of the socialist community by the turn of the 21st Century?

The "worker and communist movements" are described as part of the main motive forces of social development. In the past, the usually applied concept was that of "communist and worker movements," which was more consistent with the correlation between the revolutionary vanguard (the part) with the workers movement (the whole). Is it a question of a universal movement or a movement in the capitalist countries (in somewhat broader terms, in the nonsocialist world)? If we have in mind the international (global) "worker and communist

movements," their basic power is concentrated in world socialism. However, world socialism is already part of the main motive forces to begin with. Such a virtual duplication does not appear entirely justified. If we bear in mind the movement in the capitalist countries (or the nonsocialist world), it would be better to speak here of the "workers movement in the capitalist countries" or, if necessary, to emphasize the role of its revolutionary vanguard and speak of the "communist and workers movements in the capitalist countries."

Having assessed the historical gains of the national liberation movement, the draft describes as one of the motive forces of the process of social liberation not national liberation but its extension--the anti-imperialist struggle of countries which have rejected the colonial yoke and are fighting for social progress, and the struggle waged by the peoples of the liberated countries. Subsequently, however, once again it becomes a question of the national liberation movement (Subsection 3, Section V, Part 2), and of solidarity with the "national liberation struggle of the peoples" (the preamble to Part 3) as an on-going force.

I believe that the title of the third section in Part 3 should be refined. In its present aspect it is broader than the content of the section in which no mention is made of relations with the capitalist countries in Latin America and with the liberated capitalist countries.

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CSO: 1802/8

A PROGRAM OF PEACE AND CREATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 86 (signed to press 22 Jan 86) pp 82-83

[Article by Ezi Majka, editor in chief of TRIBUNA LUDU]

[Text] The publication of the draft new edition of the CPSU program triggered great interest in PZPR ranks. TRIBUNA LUDU and our entire party press have published it in full and described with equal thoroughness the other party documents submitted for discussion on the eve of the 27th CPSU Congress. The PZPR Central Committee published the full text of the draft for the benefit of the broad party aktiv. In recent weeks topics discussed in these CPSU documents have been steadily covered by the Polish press.

The discussion of the draft new edition of the CPSU program is a noteworthy event in the life not only of the Soviet communists and the working people in the land of the soviets, but also the entire communist movement. These documents are particularly important from the viewpoint of enriching the treasury of experience of the fraternal communist and worker parties in the socialist community.

The profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the most important problems of our time, the daring solution of difficult problems, a realistic approach to the broad tasks and the awareness of the party's strength and ability to rally the collective efforts of the masses are features of a Leninist style found in all parts and sections of the draft new edition of the CPSU program.

In formulating the draft of the party program for the 10th PZPR Congress, we consider this CPSU document as exceptionally valuable, helping us to analyze the contemporary stage of building socialism in Poland. To us it is a source of creative inspiration in defining the further path of socialist development, based on universal laws and carried out under the specific historical conditions of Polish reality.

The draft new edition of the CPSU program provides a clear study of the contemporary age. It considers the new phenomena and trends which appeared in recent decades and sums them up theoretically. The section which assesses contemporary imperialism and considers its contradictions is of great interest. It leads to the conclusion that under the conditions of state-monopoly capitalism the conflict between the tremendous growth of production

forces and capitalist production relations is becoming increasingly acute; internal economic instability is increased and cyclical and structural crises become intertwined and intensified. Mass unemployment, inflation, budget deficits and government debts have become chronic ills. As a result, the very same means which imperialism uses with a view to strengthening its positions inevitably lead to the aggravation of all of its internal contradictions.

The draft new edition of the program notes as a characteristic feature of our time the upsurge of mass democratic movements in the nonsocialist world, opposing the militarization of society, the policy of aggression and wars, violation of women's rights, corruption and a predatory attitude displayed by the monopolies toward the environment. The participants in these movements demand an end to the worsened situation of the young generation and to racial and national discrimination. Objectively, their actions are aimed against the reactionary policy of imperialist circles. The increasingly energetic participation of the intelligentsia, white collar workers, farmers, the urban petite bourgeoisie, the national minorities, and young people and students in the antimonopoly struggle proves that "the antagonism between the monopolies and the tremendous majority of the population is deepening."

This CPSU document also interprets from a theoretically and practically new point of view the problem of war and peace. Today there can be no winner or loser in a global military conflict. However, world civilization could perish. "The danger threatening mankind has never been so grave. However, nor have there ever been such real possibilities of safeguarding and strengthening peace.... This is the historical calling of socialism...." The consistent policy pursued in this matter is clearly confirmed by the Soviet stance at the November summit meeting in Geneva and the January declaration of M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, which formulates a set of new major foreign policy initiatives.

The draft new edition of the CPSU program raises the question of the role of scientific and technical progress in the development of the contemporary world. It accurately defines the link between it and social progress. "It is not science and technology by themselves which threaten peace. Peace is threatened by imperialism and its policies...." Under capitalism the great creations of man's mind and hands are aimed at perfecting means of destruction. They deprive millions of people of work and serve the enrichment of the ruling elite. The historical ability of socialism to control processes of scientific and technical progress in accordance with the needs of mankind is revealed even more clearly against this background.

The draft new edition of the CPSU program is the concentrated experience of building socialism in the USSR, which enriches the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialism. It formulates accurately and profoundly the laws governing the development of the communist system. This aspect is of essential significance to us, for those same laws determine today and will determine in the future the building of socialism in our country as well. Essentially, we shall be facing the very same problems. However, under the specific historical conditions of Poland we must find corresponding means and solutions. Therefore, the CPSU programmatic concepts are important to us as a valuable guideline and as a source of theoretical thinking.

From this point of view as well the theoretical summations covering the following problems are of particular significance:

Interpretation of labor and its function within the socialist system as the starting point for a more profound characterization of the category of social justice;

Showing the new role of scientific and technical progress as the main factor in the development of production forces, with a powerful influence on all aspects of modern production, the entire social relations system and the person himself and his habitat;

Defining the tasks related to shaping the processes of development of socialist social consciousness and their laws, including the principle that "the education of the person is inseparable from his practical participation in constructive toil for the good of the people...."

The very method of presentation in the draft new edition of the program is noteworthy. Summations are based on the thorough study of social reality. However, this study is not merely reduced to noting facts. Its purpose is to shed light on the nature of processes which currently determine growth possibilities. This enables us to substantiate efficient laws governing further progress. Thanks to this, the draft new edition of the program is, to the party, not only a manual for action but also a scientific forecast.

Unquestionably, this fundamental CPSU document expresses the continuity of the theoretical and political principles governing Lenin's great party and their further creative development and enrichment. The profound thoughts, depth and accuracy of the analysis of the contemporary age and the processes of socialist construction included in the draft new edition of the program, are a manifestation of the richest possible historical experience of the CPSU. The earmarked plans and assignments are consistent with the complexity of contemporary problems and the requirements of the future. This creates confidence and optimism.

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5003
CSO: 1802/8

IMPERIALISM AND LATIN AMERICA

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 86 (signed to press 22 Jan 86) pp 83-84

[Article by Professor K. Khachaturov, doctor of historical sciences]

[Text] I would like to draw attention to the scientific novelty, political significance and practical relevance of the stipulations in the draft new edition of the CPSU program pertaining to the intensified unevenness in the development of countries within the capitalist system. For example, Section II, Part 1 of the draft includes an important feature of the contemporary capitalist world, such as the establishment, along with the three leading centers of interimperialist rivalry--the United States, Western Europe and Japan--of new economic and political centers of rivalry, above all in the Pacific Basin and Latin America.

In this connection, let us consider briefly the situation on the Latin American continent. In fact, in the past 25 years many countries in this area have achieved significant economic progress and reached the average level of developed capitalism. Furthermore, in many of them (Brazil, Argentina, Mexico) capitalism has entered its monopoly stage. Its strengthened industrial potential enables big capital in these countries to engage in a competitive struggle against the industrially developed Western countries in the world capitalist market and, above all, naturally, in Latin America.

At the same time, the uneven economic and political development inherent in capitalism is manifested in Latin America in extremely distorted aspects, showing an interweaving of capitalist with precapitalist exploitation, which has strengthened the type of dependent type of economic development which, in the final account, becomes subordinated to the self-seeking interests of foreign monopolies, North American above all, and the interest of multinational corporations. All of this greatly hinders and obstructs the establishment of new rivalry centers in Latin America.

In this connection, it would be expedient, in our view, in order to avoid various interpretations, to refine in this document the formulation concerning the centers of rivalry, emphasizing that "a process of establishment of new economic and political rivalry centers" is taking place in the capitalist world, a process which is still far from being completed. Such a refining is important in order to properly understand the tasks of the anti-imperialist

struggle in areas indicated in the document and to provide a realistic assessment of the growth of contradictions among the various detachments of the national and cosmopolitan bourgeoisie within the capitalist system. As noted in the draft, the Latin American countries "are forced as in the past to wage an intensive struggle against the domination of U.S. and other imperialist monopolies," and against the continuing and intensifying plunder with the help of huge financial indebtedness (in excess of \$360 billion), which "has become one of the important channels for their exploitation by imperialism, American imperialism above all."

U.S. imperialism remains the main enemy of the peoples of Latin America, where contradictions caused by dependency on capitalism have brought about a most profound socioeconomic crisis. As was emphasized in the declaration of South American communist parties (Buenos Aires, 1984), "North American domination in Latin America can and must be eliminated through the unity of action of the working class, the people's masses and the broadest circle of patriotic and anti-imperialist forces." Naturally, in this connection the growing contradictions between the Latin American bourgeoisie, including the big bourgeoisie, and the leading imperialist centers, above all the United States, are taken into consideration.

Here is another consideration. It is proper for the draft new edition of the CPSU program to draw attention within this same section to only a few of the most odious of the innumerable crimes committed against the peoples of the world, which will remain forever as the most shameful annals in the history of imperialism. Excessive details are unacceptable both methodologically and in terms of the nature of a programmatic document. Nevertheless, I would deem it necessary, even within the limits of strictly regulated facts, after mentioning the long years of blockade of socialist Cuba, to add the sentence "organization of a military fascist coup in Chile."

The violent removal of the Allende constitutional government in 1973 and the establishment of a bloody military-police dictatorship is one of the most shameful displays in modern history of the policy of state terrorism pursued by the United States and a cynical trampling of the rights of the peoples to an independent choice of development by imperialism. This reality should be taken into consideration, in my view, in the final draft of the new program.

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5003
CSO: 1802/8

ON CHANGES IN CPSU STATUTES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 86 (signed to press 22 Jan 86) pp 85-87

[Letters by CPSU members]

[Text] One of the important features of the CPSU draft statutes (with suggested amendments) is, unquestionably, concern for the qualitative structure of the party, its reputation and further growth of its leading role. In this connection, the stipulation on upgrading the exigency concerning the moral features of the party member, which must be possessed by those recommended for party membership, deserves warm approval. I am convinced that the new point "e" in Paragraph 2 will be of great importance. It includes, among the obligations of party members, the following: "strict observance of the norms of communist morality, asserting the principle of social justice inherent in socialism, putting social interests above personal ones, displaying modesty, decency, responsiveness and attention to others, promptly responding to the demands and needs of the working people and be truthful and honest toward the party and the people."

These requirements concerning the party member are just, necessary and unquestionable. However, the following question arises: how to see to it that they are observed strictly? I believe that in addition to upgrading the responsibility of sponsors of new party members and the party members themselves for their own behavior and actions, a permanent efficient system must be organized for control and assistance provided by the primary party organizations and superior party bodies, aimed at ensuring the model implementation of statutory obligations by every party member.

In this connection, a special item in Paragraph 58 should include the following stipulation concerning the activities of the primary party organization: "c. See to it that every party member fulfill accurately and strictly his obligations as party member, observe the Leninist norms of party life and perform his civic duty in a model fashion."

In Paragraph 42, which deals with the basic obligations of republic, kray, oblast, okrug, city and rayon party organizations and leading bodies, the following should be added to point "e:" "Providing systematic and efficient control over the activities of cadres in accordance with the Leninist requirements concerning their moral, practical and political qualities."

I also deem it important to add an additional paragraph to Section I of the statutes: "Party members dismissed from leading positions for violations of norms of party life and communist morality, socialist legality and abuse of official position for selfish purposes, and who have been punished for this in accordance with the CPSU statutes, may not be elected or appointed to other leading positions."

In my view, a separate paragraph should be included in Section III, which would define the place and role of party veterans and the procedure for making use of their tremendous experience in organizational and ideological education work. Unfortunately, neither the draft new edition of the CPSU program nor the draft amendments of the party statutes mention anything about veterans. Their status should be defined more precisely. Obviously, party members with 35 to 40 years seniority should be considered veterans. Above all, I believe, they must be more actively drawn into sociopolitical work, particularly with Komsomol members and young people. Skillful guidance of veterans activities would greatly help the work of the party organizations.

On this basis, I suggest that the following paragraph be added to Section III of the draft amendments of the CPSU statutes: "31. It would be expedient to set up under the party committees councils (committees, commissions, groups) of party veterans, who will help them in organizational-party and ideological-education work with primary party and Komsomol organizations."

Signed: M. Rafikov, CPSU member since 1945, party group organizer, Kazan University Chair of Scientific Communism, Kazan.

In connection with the discussion of the draft precongress documents, I would like to express a few considerations relative to the CPSU statutes.

Paragraph 3, point "c" of the draft party statutes (with suggested amendments) reads as follows: "Individuals guilty of suppressing criticism and persecuting for criticism should be taken to task by the party most strictly and even expelled from CPSU ranks." In my view, this stipulation should be strengthened, for which reason I suggest that it be rephrased as follows: "Individuals guilty of suppressing criticism, who abuse in this connection their power and official position for selfish purposes, as well as party members who manage superior bodies and who pander to such actions will be expelled from the party and dismissed from their positions for causing moral and material harm to the Communist Party and the Soviet state."

I also think that it would be necessary to set a specific party-political minimum for new party members and codify it in the statutes as a mandatory requirement.

The problem which remains unresolved in most party organizations is the following: for every engineering and technical worker no less than three workers must be accepted into the party. Are we not thus erecting an artificial barrier between the engineering and technical personnel and the workers? For most of our engineering and technical workers also are either workers themselves or the offspring of the working class. My view is that the restrictions concerning the acceptance of engineering and technical personnel

in the party are unjustified. On the one hand, to a certain extent we are shutting the doors of the CPSU to the developing specialists who, as party members, could be very useful in working with people. On the other, sometimes party organization secretaries are forced (this is no secret) to recruit as party members not exactly the worthiest people simply because they are considered representatives of the working class.

It is my profound conviction that the criterion governing the selection of people for CPSU membership should consist, above all, of qualities such as loyalty to the socialist homeland, ideological firmness, moral stability, political knowledgeability, high general development, discipline, honesty, principle-mindedness, conscientious attitude toward official and labor duties and intolerance of any violations of party discipline and state law. These requirements should be reflected in Paragraph 2 of the draft amendments of the party statutes.

Signed: V. Savin, CPSU member since 1945, engineer, Gorkiy.

In my view, it would be useful to supplement point "c" of Paragraph 3 as follows: "Individuals guilty of suppressing criticism and of persecuting for criticism and flatterers and toadies must be taken strictly to task by the party and even expelled from CPSU ranks."

Everyone knows that flattery and toadying cause tremendous harm to society. They distort our way of life, contribute to bespoiling of leading bodies by including in them talentless people, harm our cause and painfully hurt the consciousness of honest people. This disgusting phenomenon must be excised with a hot iron.

Signed: V. Demidenko, CPSU member since 1943, Moscow.

I believe that the draft amendments of CPSU statutes should pay particular attention to accepting students attending higher educational institutions as candidate party members, by including in Section II an additional paragraph to read approximately as follows: "Students attending higher educational institutions will be accepted as candidate party members only through the Komsomol and their candidate status will last the duration of their VUZ training. During their graduating year, before becoming CPSU members, the candidates must submit recommendations by three CPSU members and the Komsomol committee."

It is only the most worthy, those who have studied well, who have had an active civic stance, who have contributed to the development of a creative atmosphere in the student collective, and who have mastered Marxist-Leninist theory and learned how to put it to practical use could become party members. Students who were not accepted as party members in their final year will remain candidate members at their place of work for a period of no less than 2 years.

Signed: V. Ivashov, CPSU member since 1979, Sverdlovsk

I would like to draw attention to the fact that according to the current CPSU statutes, one of the basic obligations of republic, kray, oblast, okrug, city and rayon party organizations is "extensive involvement of party members in party work on a voluntary basis" (Paragraph 42, point "e").

This stipulation is not included in the draft CPSU statutes (with suggested amendments). This is unfair toward the thousands of party members engaged in voluntary work without which, it seems to me, a party organization cannot live a full life.

The draft new edition of the CPSU program calls for "developing socialist self-management by the people through the increased involvement of citizens in the administration of governmental and social affairs."

I suggest that voluntary work by party members should also become a school for socialist self-management. Therefore, it would be desirable not only to retain in the CPSU statutes the stipulation that this is one of the basic obligations of the party members but also to expand this paragraph. It should indicate the need for the more extensive involvement of party members in party work on a voluntary basis.

Signed: N. Shiyatov, CPSU member since 1977, jurist, voluntary instructor at the Frunzenskiy Rayon CPSU Committee, Moscow.

The present scale of economic, social, political and cultural changes requires a higher level of guidance of social processes by the primary party organizations. In the light of these requirements, the primary party organizations must be headed by an experienced party member not only familiar with production affairs but with party work as well. That is why, as is stipulated in the draft amendments of the party statutes, a 1-year party membership for secretaries of primary and shop party organizations seems insufficient.

In this connection, I suggest that paragraph 55 be amended as follows: "Party membership of 2-year duration for secretaries of primary and shop party organizations and no less than 1 year for their deputies is mandatory."

Signed: I. Meshkov, CPSU member since 1947, pensioner, Cheboksary.

The draft amendments of CPSU bylaws include the idea worthy of total support to the effect that the party apparatus should be an extension of the party committee, working as its auxiliary agency and operational headquarters. However, I believe that reducing the functions of this apparatus merely to "current work in the organization and verification of execution of party decisions" and "helping subordinate organizations in their activities" is not entirely justified.

I believe that it would be better to start the enumeration of the functions of the apparatus in Paragraph 23 as follows: "In order to ensure the broad ties between the party committee and the party members and citizens, labor collectives and organizations, for drafting party decisions" followed by the text.

It seems to me that the practice of electing party secretaries not by the buro but by a broader party assembly should be extended to secretaries of primary party organizations as well. In this connection, the following could be entered in Paragraph 55: "The primary or shop party organization will elect a secretary and a party organization buro for a term of 2 or 3 years, which will manage current affairs."

Signed: B. Kurashvili, CPSU member since 1946, candidate of juridical sciences, Moscow.

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CSO: 1802/8

VERIFYING WITH PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE, SEEING TO THE FUTURE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 86 (signed to press 22 Jan 86) pp 87-90

[Article by B. Vorobyev, head of a fitter-assembly worker brigade, Bashneftemashremont Production Association, member of the Oktyabrskiy City CPSU Party Committee Buro, Bashkir ASSR]

[Text] I would not err by saying that the few weeks which separate us from the 27th CPSU Congress are a special time in the life of the party and our entire people. It is no accident that the party has described the period we have entered as a turning point. As a working person, I am well aware of the meaning, of the essence of events and of the purpose of comprehensively restructuring and perfecting work forms and methods, undertaken by the party.

As all of us know, many experienced and knowledgeable people have taken part in drafting the programmatic party documents, such as members of party committees, ministries, departments, scientific collectives and soviet and public organizations. The numerous wishes and suggestions of party and nonparty members, expressed in their letters to the CPSU Central Committee, in the central press and journals, have been taken into consideration. That is why, it seems to me, they are so meaningful, profound and broad, accurate in a Leninist fashion and daring in assessing the real possibilities and prospects of our development. The draft new edition of the party program and amendments in CPSU statutes clearly show a line of increased leading role of the party in society and, at the same time, an enhancement in the responsibility of every party member for the common project. One cannot exist without the other. It is my profound conviction that in order to cope with our assignments better we, party members, must again and again consider and test against our personal experience each item in the precongress documents which will be adopted at the party congress and will become the basic law of our life.

I am closely following the course of the discussion of the CPSU Central Committee drafts in the newspaper and on the radio and television. This provides extremely rich food for thought. What is most striking is the virtually ubiquitous mood of the party members to act energetically and persistently, sparing no efforts of their minds and hearts to achieve the objectives set by the party not "in general" but in their actual personally assigned sectors. That is obviously why most of the thoughts, remarks and suggestions expressed by the participants in the discussion are of a very

specific nature. I too intend to express my thoughts based not on secondhand knowledge but on many years of personal practical experience. Above all, I would like to discuss items in the CPSU draft statutes (with suggested amendments) pertaining to the primary party organizations.

The first thing I would like to note with satisfaction is the extreme timeliness of the statutory amendments, aimed at upgrading the activeness and combativeness of the primary party organizations. The broadening of their rights (such as the suggested active participation in the implementation of cadre policy) is, in my view, timely and dictated by life itself. For the past few years I have been elected secretary of the shop party organization and can confidently say that the tasks of the party members in production are becoming increasingly more difficult and responsible with every passing year. It is not a question solely of the increased stress of the plan but the fact that the contemporary production process requires greater accuracy and reliability in the work and a much higher "technological" discipline which in itself is very important. Relations within labor collectives are becoming increasingly many-faceted and, frankly, exceptionally complex. This is understandable, for the people are growing professionally and spiritually, for which reason they adopt a more exigent attitude toward their fellow workers and their managers, the overall atmosphere in the collective and the work style established at the enterprise. The primary task of the party group or the shop or primary party organization is to convince the collective of the accuracy of its individual steps or decisions made by the administration. This is more difficult than simply ordering the people, which is a sin committed by many administrators. That reason alone profoundly substantiates broadening the rights of the primary party organizations.

Many people will obviously agree with me that the combativeness of the primary party organization as a whole greatly depends on the work quality of the party buro and, not least, of its secretary. The great interest displayed in our enterprise (and not only in our enterprise, as newspaper materials indicate) in discussing the paragraph in the draft statutes (with suggested amendments) on the term of the party buro and the minimally admissible length of party membership of its secretary is entirely understandable. The periodical elections for party buro membership, every 2 or 3 years, suggested in the draft, has triggered objections on the part of some party members, essentially reduced to the fact that such a procedure would hinder the replaceability and renovation of the elective party aktiv and increase the danger of "preservation" of shortcomings in its activities. In my view, there are reasons for such considerations. It seems to me, however, that such fears are the result of mental inertia and customary concepts. Naturally, there is no 100-percent guarantee that a buro and its secretary, elected for a term of 2 to 3 years, will work impeccably. But why should we be guided by the principle of "let us elect and then see and if we do not like what is happening, we can always replace," rather than by the maximally serious and strict choice of candidates for membership in the body which guides the primary party organization?

Allow me to share yet another consideration in this matter. The annual elections for party buro membership provide, in some cases, an opportunity to excessively zealous administrators to get rid of what they consider an

excessively active and restless party secretary. Let me cite a specific case. Vasiliy Andreyevich S., worked in our machine assembly shop as a foreman. He was a thoughtful and principle-minded party member and very good specialist. When the time for an accountability and election meeting came, Vasiliy Andreyevich was unanimously elected shop party organization secretary. He took up his work zealously and enthusiastically. However, it turned out that the shop chief did not like the energy and persistence of the new secretary: he was forced to admit to many faults and omissions in shop and personal production activities and to correct them. Profiting from the fact that Vasiliy Andreyevich made some errors in his party work, due to lack of experience, the shop leadership and those who had been punished by the new party buro for improper behavior, brought about "the resignation" of this combative although sometimes excessively zealous secretary. He was replaced by a much more adaptable person, excessively tolerant of dirty deals. This occurred a long time ago but I still remember it with a feeling of pain and shame. But even today, have we totally eliminated the possibility of conditions for such situations to develop? I believe that they can be blocked somewhat by extending the term of the party buro to 2-3 years with the mandatory obligation on its part to submit an annual report to the party members.

As to the mandatory length of party membership for secretaries of primary and shop party organizations, I believe that a term of no less than 1 year, as codified in the current CPSU statutes and draft statutes (with suggested amendments) is clearly insufficient. I know from personal experience that it is simply impossible for a young party member to realize within a single year the nature of party work and its characteristics and to understand the nature of the requirements which a party leader must meet. I therefore submit that the mandatory party membership of secretaries of primary and shop party organizations to be extended to 2-3 years and to include in Paragraph 55 of the draft amendments of CPSU statutes the stipulation that the election of a party member with a 1 year party membership as secretary should be allowed only whenever the party organizations does not include people with longer party membership.

I believe that it would be easier for the primary party organizations to carry out their vanguard role in the labor collective and act as its real political nucleus if the content of Paragraph 59 in the draft, which discusses their right to control administrative activities, is expanded. So far, this right is merely codified but nothing is being said of the specific means and methods of such activity, which is by no means simple in real production life. My personal observations and the experience of my comrades indicate that party control over administrative activities is frequently formal. Why is this so? In my view, there are several reasons. The first is the disparity in the level of information available to controllers and controlled relative to the affairs of the enterprise; in this case, the "equality" which is needed is still quite difficult to achieve. Secondly, many administrative workers, who claim to support the need for party control, in fact resist it stubbornly, fearing a loss of their misconceived reputation among their subordinates. Thirdly, as a rule, the economic manager is a member of the party buro and party committee. To a certain extent, this circumstance prevents the leading body of the party organization from assessing the activities of the

administration from principle-minded positions and, in practice, ensures a political approach to the solution of production and socioeconomic problems. Briefly, this paragraph should be expanded with a concise but meaningful characterization of the basic means and methods used by the primary party organizations in controlling administrative activities.

In this period of energetic efforts aimed at perfecting the economic mechanism, accelerating scientific and technical progress and qualitatively renovating all aspects of our life, every party member and each party committee and organization face particularly urgently the question of discipline and its comprehensive strengthening, as V.I. Lenin invariably demanded. What am I referring to mainly? The extensive changes being made in the national economy, streamlining the structure economic management bodies and production intensification will require the extensive handling of human resources and horizontal and vertical shifting of management cadres. Naturally, this can and frequently does painfully affect the personal interests of some officials. In order comprehensively to contribute to the acceleration of our country's socioeconomic progress, I would consider it useful to add to Paragraph 2 of the draft changes in the statutes the stipulation that every party member has the obligation to work in the sector in which he has been assigned by the party.

Finally, another problem which, it seems to me, affects not only the party members at the Bashneftemashremont Association, but many other production workers in the country, is the following: the party organizations which, according to the statutes, are related on the basis of territorial features, make virtually no use of the possibility provided by the second aspect of this principle on which the party's organizational structure is based: production. In my view, the need for this is being felt with growing urgency.

Let us take our production association as an example. During the 11th 5-Year Plan our collective increased its volume of output by 25 percent through production specialization and concentration and higher productivity. The 5-year plan assignment was overfulfilled by 5.1 million rubles and, compared with 1984, last year output per worker increased by nearly 7 percent. However, because of the urgent need for further development of "unmanned" means of petroleum extraction, the collective was given the assignment of drastically increasing the production of Sputnik-type group measuring systems and spare parts for them. But where were we to find reserves for increasing the production of such items needed by the national economy?

The quick and efficient solution of this problem is possible only with the energetic and coordinated participation and interested help of other enterprises and ministries which could take over the manufacturing of some of the less scarce items which our association is producing in addition to the Sputniks. Naturally, the solution of this problem requires the adoption of an active stance by the party committee of the Ministry of Petroleum Industry and the party organization of the Soyuzneftemashremont VPO, which would take into consideration national interests. However, our suggestions concerning steps which could drastically increase the production of equipment needed by the petroleum workers have met so far with no response either on the part of the VPO or the Ministry.

Let me pursue this thought by taking as example our brigade, which I have been heading for the past 15 years. The nature of our technological operations is such that we started applying the brigade contracting method long before this form of labor organization and wages became comprehensive. At the beginning of the previous 5-year plan the brigade consisted of 11 members; today the same volume of output is produced by 8 of us. This is the result of the high skills of the brigade members, interchangeability of skills and strict discipline. However, such possibilities are not infinite. We need more advanced equipment and conversion to new technology. However, it is precisely these factors that remain unused. For example, for a number of years we have been unable obtain from the Machine Tool Plant imeni F.E. Dzerzhinskiy in Yerevan improvements in the quality of the machine tools it produces. I am confident that if closer business contacts existed between the party committees of our enterprises and ministries, good results would have been achieved in both economic activities and educational work.

That is why I consider important that the second paragraph in Paragraph 59 of the draft amendments of the CPSU statutes read as follows: "The party committees of ministries and departments and the local soviet and economic bodies supervise the work of the apparatus and ensure its strict implementation of party and government directives and observance of Soviet laws, closely cooperating with the party organizations of subordinate enterprises and establishments." Such a draft, which I find more efficient and specific, would make it incumbent upon the party organizations of administrative bodies not simply to supervise the work of the apparatus but to strive for high end results of such activities. We hope that this would also broaden the realm of interaction among party committees and party buros vertically, i.e., on the basis of production characteristics.

The draft CPSU statutes (with suggested amendments) assign to every party member the task of actively participating in the country's political life and in the administration of governmental and social affairs. This statutory obligation applies equally to worker and minister. It does not divide us into rank-and-file personnel and managers. I am confident that this, precisely, is a manifestation of the essence of our party democracy and the main strength of the draft amendments of the basic law of life of the party members, fully consistent with Lenin's behests.

I and my fellow workers--party and nonparty members--warmly approve the party's programmatic documents and trust that after their ratification by the congress they will become a reliable manual for practical action for millions of people and a guarantee for the purity and cohesion of party ranks.

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CSO: 1802/8

OUR SPIRITUAL WEALTH

N.A. DOBROLYUBOV AND THE REVOLUTIONARY-DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES OF LITERARY CRITICISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 86 (signed to press 22 Jan 86) pp 91-99

[Article by G. Fridlender]

[Text] Nikolay Aleksandrovich Dobrolyubov, the sesquicentennial of whose birth falls on 5 February 1986, was one of the most profound and perspicacious minds of 19th-century Russia. K. Marx, who studied this critic's works in Russian, rated his talent highly. F. Engels called him the "socialist Lessing." In his articles on the struggle among social forces in Russia on the eve of and during the 1891 reform, V.I. Lenin repeatedly turned to the revolutionary stance held by Chernyshevskiy and Dobrolyubov in this struggle. It is precisely they that he saw as "the great personalities of that age." "...The more distant it becomes," Lenin pointed out, "the more clearly we see their greatness..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 20, p 179).

Dobrolyubov was a 20-year old student when he submitted his first article to Nekrasov's SOVREMENNICK. N.G. Chernyshevskiy, the leader of the revolutionary democrats of the 1860s, unhesitatingly acknowledged the young Dobrolyubov as a future great critic, accepting him as his closest and like-minded assistant. One year after completing his course at the pedagogical institute, Dobrolyubov became the head of the criticism department of SOVREMENNICK, a progressive journal of the times, the voice of which was closely listened to by all of reading Russia. Dobrolyubov's predecessors--Belinskiy and Chernyshevskiy--had turned this section of the journal into a platform of Russian revolutionary-democratic thinking. As critic and publicist, Dobrolyubov proved himself a worthy heir and perpetuator of the cause of these great teachers. At the same time, he was able to formulate his own original and fresh ideas in classical revolutionary democratic criticism. Dobrolyubov's theory of criticism and his best articles, such as "What Is Oblomovism?," "Kingdom of Darkness," "When Will the True Day Come?," and "Forgotten People," take us very close to the type of understanding of the interrelationship between literature and the life of the people, art and revolution which, in the subsequent stage of development of Russian sociorevolutionary thinking, was manifested in Lenin's brilliant Leninist articles on Tolstoy.

While still a student, Dobrolyubov became an atheist and a socialist. It was at that time that he established his first ties with the revolutionary underground, ties which he maintained for the rest of his life.

In 1855 the 19-year old Dobrolyubov boldly called Russia to revolution:

Arise, Rus to glorious exploit,
To great and sacred struggle!...
Regain your sacred right
From the ignoble knights of the knout...

In Chernyshevskiy's Novel "Prologue," in which Dobrolyubov is presented as Levitskiy, and Volgin as the prototype of the author himself, Levitskiy rushes to revolutionary exploit impatiently and impassionately. Volgin-Chernyshevskiy has to convince his young friend persistently and at length of the fact that a revolution cannot be made by isolated individuals, that the hour of armed uprising has not come and that both of them must bring this hour closer calmly and patiently, and prepare themselves for future revolutionary actions persistently and steadily. For once the people have matured for revolution the urgent need will arise for people who could head and lead it.

One of Dobrolyubov's contemporaries recalls the following about him: "In order to respect and love a person, Nikolay Aleksandrovich sought in him an inflexibly firm character, strong will and real convictions, so that at moments of misfortune he could be relied upon to remain loyal to his convictions and support of the right cause. He personally found it difficult to converse with people he had met only recently and could distinguish between people with real convictions and phrase-mongers with amazing accuracy."

However, it was not only the revolutionary youth of the 1860s who saw in Dobrolyubov its greatly loved instructor and teacher. M.N. Katkov, the leader of the government reactionaries of the 1860 called him "The High Priest of Nihilism." As one of his letters reveals, starting with 1858 Dobrolyubov steadily felt upon himself the vigilant eye of the secret police. When suffering from severe illness, he had to go for treatment to Italy in the spring of 1860, the police authorities did everything possible to prevent his departure and for a long time refused to issue him a passport for travel abroad. In Italy, according to his contemporaries, "he plunged into the feverish life of that country which was in the process of its unification at that time, meeting with all Italian leaders, actively participating in their affairs and discussions, and crisscrossing Italy from one end to the other several times.." In his articles on the Italian revolution, printed in SOVREMENNICK, Dobrolyubov sharply pitted liberals against democrats, showing the basic differences between their political programs and tactics on the question of Italian unification. On the basis of Italian historical data he formulated for Russia essential political problems of the correlation between popular needs and interests and the interests of other classes, the need for the people's masses themselves to participate directly in making history and of the type of political leader who could raise the people in the struggle for freedom and firmly defend the people's interests.

Dobrolyubov's publicistic and critical activities in *SOVREMENNICK* lasted slightly over 4 years. He died from tuberculosis on the night of 16 November 1861. He was only 25 years old. "He worked extremely hard, not for any kind of extraneous motivations but because of an insurmountable passion for action," Chernyshevskiy wrote in Dobrolyubov's obituary. "...From 1858 on no single month would pass during which we would repeatedly urge him to work less, to take care of himself. He joked that...it was not work that was killing him, for he found working extremely easy. He was being killed by civic sadness... But then, how could he spare himself? He felt that his works were powerfully accelerating the course of our development, he kept hurrying time.... For 4 years he headed Russian literature, no, not only Russian literature but the entire development of Russian thinking" (N.G. Chernyshevskiy, "Poln. Sobr. Soch. v 15-ti Tt" [Complete Collected Works in 15 Volumes]. Vol VII, pp 851-852).

In speaking of his youth and spiritual development, Lenin recalled that reading Dobrolyubov's articles "What is Oblomovism?" and "When Will the True Day Come?," not only helped him to understand the importance of Goncharov's "Oblomov" and Turgenev's "On the Eve," and to reread them "with Dobrolyubov's footnotes," but also to feel as though he had been struck by lightning. "That is how one should write!" he exclaimed on the subject of these articles. "When I set up *ZARYA* I kept telling Starover (Potresov) and Zasulich: 'We need literary reviews of precisely this kind.' No way! We had no Dobrolyubov, whom Engels had qualified as the socialist Lessing" ("V.I. Lenin o Literaturi i Iskusstve" [V.I. Lenin on Literature and Art], Moscow, 1979, p 650).

In 1911, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of Dobrolyubov's death, *ZVEZDA*, the bolshevik newspaper, and the journal *PROSVESHCHENIYE*, the legal bolshevik theoretical organ, dedicated special articles to the memory of the critic and the importance of his legacy to the working class. N.V. Krylenko and V.V. Vorovskiy, their respective authors, argued not only with the bourgeois-liberal critics, who had made a sharp turn toward the reaction after the 1905-1907 revolution and, in this connection, tried to ignore Dobrolyubov's legacy, but also against G.V. Plekhanov, blaming him for the fact that the revolutionary publicist in him frequently supplanted the critic, thus greatly damaging his critical articles. The bolsheviks considered Dobrolyubov's organic blend of criticism and public activism his most important feature. They argued that in him the critic and the publicist brilliantly supplemented and enriched one-another.

The particular and truly exceptional importance of Dobrolyubov's critical and publicistic activities to the history of Russian and world criticism and journalism is due to the same specific features in the development of Russian social thought as the global significance of the critical and publicistic works of Belinskiy, Hertzen and Chernyshevskiy. With their brilliant dialectical sensitivity, these great philosophers realized that the accurate analysis and accurate evaluation of literature and art were impossible as long as one remained locked within abstract aesthetic dreams and ideals, for beauty and the entire area of aesthetics are inseparable from life and from the real problems which stem from its historical dynamics and development.

Dobrolyubov's journalistic activities were amazingly comprehensive. As head of the criticism section of *SOVREMENNIK*, he had to write articles and reviews not only dealing with fiction but also philosophy, the natural sciences, education, Russian and world history, and various types of geographic, statistical and economic works. He was able to turn each one of his articles into a weapon in the sharp and irreconcilable struggle against autocracy, the church, coercion and social injustice and in defense of the rights of the toiling and oppressed people.

Dobrolyubov wrote his critical articles in the spirit of a passionate revolutionary and educator. As was precisely the case with Belinskiy and Chernyshevskiy, he did not accept the existence of literary or aesthetic problems which were not inseparably related to the life of the people. It was precisely this that determined the profoundly dialectical spirit of his thoughts as a critic. Never losing touch with the readers, he masterly involved them in the study of the work under review, profoundly and perspicaciously interpreting its characters and social types, analyzing the reasons which had created them and the conditions which had contributed to the appearance of the various psychological inclinations and features of the characters. In Dobrolyubov the study of a literary work becomes a study of Russian society, its current condition and the possibility of asserting within it real democratic and socialist ideals. Under his pen a critical article became an unforgettable eternally living lesson in artistic truth and social morality.

One of the noteworthy features of Dobrolyubov's views was his clear awareness of the significance of social contradictions in the history of human society. "In the eyes of the truly educated person there are no aristocrats, boyars, peasant farmers, brahmins and parias, but only working people and parasites," he wrote (N. A. Dobrolyubov, "Sobr. Soch." [Collected Works] in 9 vol. Vol 3, p 315) (subsequent references to N.A. Dobrolyubov's Collected Works will indicate volume and page only). From this viewpoint, the historian studying any given social system must be drawn above all "to the rights of the working class, on the one hand, and parasitism in all of its manifestations, on the other" (ibid.).

In analyzing social life in contemporary Western Europe, Dobrolyubov reached the conclusion that a future clash between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the West was inevitable. He was profoundly sympathetic to the working class, warmly supporting its struggle in defense of its human rights. Dobrolyubov was convinced that the proletariat will not be granted such rights by the capitalists in the guise of "charity," but could gain them only as a result of a lengthy and persistent struggle against the ruling class. That is why, he believed, "new discontent is welling within the working classes and a new struggle is being surreptitiously prepared," a struggle which will end with the victory of labor over capital (vol 5, p 495). However, like the other revolutionary democrats of the 1860, Dobrolyubov made no essential distinction between the working class and the peasantry from the viewpoint of their socioeconomic status and class interests.

As literary critic, Dobrolyubov considered his main task "the interpretation of phenomena in life itself, on the basis of a work of literature," without

imposing on the author any prefabricated ideas and tasks." He preferred above all works of literature "in which life had developed naturally rather than according to a program formulated by the author in advance," and was sharply critical of works in which "the social side...was forcefully squeezed to fit a predetermined idea." Conversely, he warmly welcomed works in which "the thinking and imagination of the author" obeyed "the influence of the natural course of social life" (vol 6, p 98).

He considered literature a sensitive barometer, an arm which invariably reacted to life's motion and change. The main task he set himself was to explain to the reader the meaning of the characters and situations depicted by the author and to translate them from the language of art to that of real social life.

Dobrolyubov's criticism was powerful precisely because his foremost interest was not the author's good intentions or ideas mastered abstractly from books and unrelated to life, but the real meaning of his work and the living characters and pictures he created. Here Dobrolyubov proceeded from the belief that real truth in art begins where artistic characters come alive in the eyes of the reader, which is possible only to the extent to which they encompass living sociohistorical reality, accurately perceived, deeply felt and reflected, living and developing in accordance with its own objective laws, independent of the will and awareness of the artist. Dobrolyubov heatedly objected to the method of critics who "tell themselves in advance what a work should include (as understood by them, naturally) and the extent to which all that it should contain is indeed there (again according to their concepts)" (ibid., p 290). He bitingly mocked criticism which "approaches the authors precisely as though they were muzhiks recruits being measures for their uniform, shouting 'Front!' or 'Back!' applying the same standard to all" (ibid., p 296). "Even the most gifted writers can expect nothing good" from such criticism, Dobrolyubov wrote, "were they to introduce something new and original in their art." All they can do with such "accurate criticism" is boldly "to march on" through all of its reprimands and prescriptions, providing that they remain true to "living nature," "the situation" and the demands of reality (see ibid., pp 292, 363).

In his brilliant articles Dobrolyubov gave a brilliant example of most profound penetration into the living fabric of a work and into its objective real historical meaning which is not always clear even to the author himself. It is thanks to this that although discussing literature, the critic also spoke of social reality, profoundly studying and analyzing the problems and trends in the life of Russian society of that period, as reflected in a work of literature.

Yes, Dobrolyubov was a critic-publicist. Articles of his, such as "What Is Oblomovism?" (1859), "When Will the True Day Come?" (1860) or "Ray of Light in a Dark Kingdom" (1860) can be described with full justification as ardent revolutionary proclamations. It would be erroneous to think, however, that the revolutionary conclusions which Dobrolyubov reached in this articles, based on Goncharov's "Oblomov," Turgenev's "On the Eve," or Ostrovskiy's "The Thunderstorm," are not objectively based on the real logic of the characters and situations depicted in these works. As the critic accurately sensed, each

one of these works reflects in its artistic uniqueness the objective historical situation which Russia experienced by the turn of the 1860s, and since the authors of these works were profound and honest artists loyal to the real truth of life, they consciously or subconsciously expressed the critical revolutionary meaning of this situation and the need for deep social changes, realized more or less clearly at that time by the various strata in Russian society involved by history itself into the current of a powerful and energetic social movement. A.N. Ostrovskiy introduced on the Russian theater stage a social force new to the 1850s and 1860s: the Russian merchant, whose life and mores he studied comprehensively. What was the general conclusion he drew from this study? The critics belonging to the then Slavophilic trend, Apollon Grigoryev in particular, were ready to accept this class depicted by Ostrovskiy as the loyal custodian of the traditional principles of Russian life and the age-old popular concepts of goodness, truth and justice. Without denying that Ostrovskiy was a very great expert in the field of Russian life and the great love which this great playwright felt for it, he refused to acknowledge that the Russian bourgeoisie, which was entering the historical arena, was a force which could lead society to the high road of social progress. The laws ruling the life of the merchants were considered by the critic as much "a kingdom of darkness" as the laws of the reality of serfdom surrounding it. For these laws were based on the omnipotence and power of the owners and the neglect and weakness of those who dependent materially, legally and morally on them.

We know that the Russian merchant class created not only people, such as Bolshov and Korshunov, but also such as P.M. Tretyakov, the founder of the Tretyakov Gallery, or outstanding personalities, such as S. Mamontov and S. Morozov. Ostrovskiy was the first writer in Russian literature to present through his characters the tragic topic of the outstanding and gifted individual coming from the people but who followed the wrong path, thus wrecking and losing his rich possibilities. At another point in Russian history this topic was covered with new strength by M. Gorkiy in his "Foma Gordeyev," "Vassa Zheleznova," "The Artamonov Case" and "Yegor Bulychev." But can this be used in the debate with Dobrolyubov, who was the first to say "No" to the Russian bourgeoisie with total uncompromising clarity, when it had refused to acknowledge within itself the existence of the live creative force of national history, which would have helped to reorganize life in Russia on a new positive historical basis? Subsequently, history (not only Russian but global) proved without refuting even a minute part Dobrolyubov's historical foresight and his brilliant analysis of the social laws of life and the mentality of the bourgeois-merchant "dark kingdom" they created. That is why the basic conclusions contained in this cycle of Dobrolyubov's articles remain relevant today. The time which has elapsed since his death has only intensified the historical truth contained in his articles about Ostrovskiy.

Dobrolyubov's article "What Is Oblomovism?" has frequently triggered heated disputes, as has his "Kingdom of Darkness," both during his lifetime and in the present. Dobrolyubov was accused of one-sided assessment of Oblomov's character and of an undeservedly strict criticism of this the main character in Goncharov's novel.

Yet Dobrolyubov's brilliance as a critic was manifested in the article "What Is Oblomovism" precisely in the fact that in it he shifted the emphasis from an analysis of the personality of the main character in the novel and of his human qualities and shortcomings and the dark and bright sides of his nature to the analysis of the social origins of "Oblomovism," understood as a phenomenon of a social mentality and mores created by the postreform serfdom order. Thanks to his truly revolutionary mind, Dobrolyubov profoundly realized the difficult legacy of the years of oppression of the serfs not only in the life of the landed class but also in the other population strata of prereform autocratic Russia, from top to bottom. In "What Is Oblomovism?" he called upon the people to engage in a merciless and uncompromising struggle against idleness, inertia and routine, and against social passiveness, indifference and patriarchal hibernation in the face of the revolutionary situation which was ripening in Russia. In the famous chapter "Oblomov's Dream," Goncharov himself openly indicated the life sources of the mentality of his character, which the writer linked with the habits inherent in his nature as a result of the idle life of the owners of Oblomovka and their idleness, parasitism and mental laziness developed in them during centuries of oppressive serfdom. It was in this circumstance, as well as the fact that, unlike older characters belonging to the nobility in Russian literature, such as Onegin, Pechorin, Belov or Rudin, from the very moment of his arrival in Petersburg, Goncharov's Oblomov does not aspire to become actively involved with life, preferring a peaceful semislumbering existence on his couch, dressed in a robe and an old pair of slippers, the critic perspicaciously detected a lowering of the character of the "unnecessary man" among the nobility, and the author's indication of the inability of his character to respond to the needs of the new historical aspect of Russian social life, for, in Dobrolyubov's understanding, this aspect demanded of the thinking members of Russian society a stressing of their full efforts and converting to a decisive and selfless struggle against social and political stagnation. The desire to avoid it, peacefully sit it out "away from the battle," on one's old couch meant in itself, in the critic's view, a historical evil and a demand for the merciless and irreconcilable condemnation by anyone who was sincerely interested, not in words but in deeds, in the general upsurge of Russian social life.

Equally instructive today is Dobrolyubov's article "When Will the True Day Come?" written on the subject of I.S. Turgenev's novel "On the Eve." Dobrolyubov saw an important symptom in the fact that Yelena, the main heroin in the novel, having rejected the love of other young people surrounding her (including the sculptor Shubin, a lover of "pure" art, and Bersenev, the loyal servant of an equally "pure" science, removed from life) decides to merge her fate with that of Insarov, the Bulgarian revolutionary, who has dedicated his life to the courageous liberation of his homeland from foreign yoke. For Russian life had sharply put on the agenda in Russia the item of the Russian Insaroffs, the fighters against autocracy and land owners.

In the article "Ray of Light in the Kingdom of Darkness," analyzing the great popular drama, the critic proved that a revolutionary situation had appeared in Russia in the 1860s. For if masters, such as Kikiy and Kabanikha felt that their omnipotence was being threatened by the greatest possible danger and could no longer feel like masters of life, the popular masses themselves

neither could nor wanted to live as of old. The impossibility felt by the simple people to continue to tolerate the oppression of the land owners and the petty tyrannical merchants and their resolve to die fighting were seen by the critic in the energetic and desperate protest against the age-old foundations of the life and morality of a merchant's family, based on the resigned obedience of the weak to the power of the strong, which inspired the heroin of "The Thunderstorm." He prophetically saw the harbinger of the approaching revolutionary epoch during which the popular masses themselves would joint in the struggle for the freedom of Russia in the fact that people's Russia had been able to create such an energetic, purposeful and heroic nature.

Dobrolyubov considered himself and like-minded people, the revolutionary democrats of the 1860 headed by Chernyshevskiy, representatives of the "party of the people in literature" (vol 2, p 228). He daringly and consistently defended in both life and literature the interests of the broad toiling masses of the Russian and the other peoples living in Russia. The critic deemed the steady and uncompromising defense of their interests his obligation.

Based on the historical experience of Russian and world literature, Dobrolyubov considered it a powerful means for the development and upsurge of life itself. In his view, however, literature could truly fulfill its historical mission only by becoming receptive to social life and its phenomena, being able to separate within it what was healthy and vital from what was false and doomed to death by history itself, and by developing the ability to anticipate the real ways leading to the transformation of reality.

Dobrolyubov was the enemy of any kind of evasive or complimentary criticism. He was not afraid of telling a writer the truth in his face, even in the case of people he highly valued, such as Turgenev or Dostoyevskiy. For the critic put higher than anything else the interests of his people and those of the great Russian literature. As a revolutionary patriot, Dobrolyubov fearlessly mocked liberal phase-mongering and pseudopatriotism and drastically condemned any disparity between words and actions. Thanks to his intolerance of lies and falsehoods, consistent defense of the rights of the working and oppressed people and merciless criticism of any forms of political, class and national oppression, Dobrolyubov enhanced the prestige of the critic in Russia to a tremendous historical height.

Dobrolyubov worked at a time when, in Lenin's familiar words, all social problems in Russia were reduced, above all, to the struggle against serfdom and its vestiges in the country's life (see op. cit., vol 2, p 520). Nevertheless, even then he was able to raise in his articles most important questions which have remained relevant to this day. The brilliant analysis which Dobrolyubov provided, as a satirist, of petty tyranny and arbitrariness as profoundly negative social phenomena, his criticism of patriarchal lethargy and immobility and his passionate call for the active and creative transformation of reality, the awakening of the broad activity of the toiling masses and their involvement in social life, retain their great significance. Dobrolyubov highly valued the role of the critic as the mover of social progress. "In the same way that the right to 'dare to think for oneself' is no longer the prerogative of a certain rank or position but is becoming

accessible to one and all," he wrote, "there appears in private life greater firmness and independence and less fear of any kind of outside judgment. Today people are voicing their opinions for the simple reason that it is better to voice than to hide them, acknowledging everyone's right to voice his own views and demands and, finally, considering it even the obligation on the part of everyone to participate in the common movement..." (vol 6, p 294). This statement by the critic is an appeal for the open discussion of problems of literature and social life as a whole.

Realistic literature, as Dobrolyubov accurately realized, is by its very essence the artistic reflection of the process of social life and the real characters and situations it creates. Hence, in his opinion, the tasks of literature and criticism, despite the differences between the two, are quite similar, for both, through different means and methods, in the final account have the same task: to help achieve the best possible understanding of social life and its reorganization for the good of the people. "While a certain idea is only in the mind and is as yet to be implemented in the future," he wrote, "literature must become aware of it and the literary discussion of the topic must be undertaken from various sides..." (vol 2, p 271). For "it is not life that follows the theories of literature but it is literature which changes in accordance with the trends of life... We build castles in the air by assuming that our words could change historical events... Literature answers the questions of life by what it finds in life itself. That is why the trend and content of literature may be a very faithful indicator of social aspirations, of the questions which affect society and to which it is most responsive" (ibid., pp 223-224, 226).

Dobrolyubov rated highly the propaganda role of literature and believed that its merit "is determined by what it propagandizes and how." He emphasized that in their spreading of social truth, sometimes richly gifted and brilliant writers "could as though instinctively come closer to the natural concepts and aspirations which were still being searched for by their contemporary philosophers strictly with the help of science." As the "fullest representatives of the highest degree of human consciousness in a certain age," they "developed as historical personalities who helped mankind become most clearly aware of its live forces and natural inclinations" (vol 6, p 309). However, the critic claimed, neither the propaganda role of literature nor its "discoveries in the area of the human heart" were conceivable without the presence of the one quality without which it can have no merit whatsoever, i.e., the truth. "The facts from which the author proceeds and which he presents to us must be transmitted accurately. Should this not be the case the work loses all significance and even becomes harmful because it serves not the enlightenment of the human consciousness but its darkening. At this point it would be futile to try to detect any kind of talent in such an author..." (ibid., pp 310-311).

Dobrolyubov, who called on literature and the critics always to face the people's life and actively to participate in it, sharply opposed any embellishment and idealizing of reality, albeit for the best of reasons. He persistently called for literature not to flatter the people but to help through its strictness to the growth of their political and social self-

awareness and to raise the toiling masses to the struggle for the active reorganization of life in the interest of the people and their future.

The principles of Dobrolyubov's "real criticism," the idea he formulated and defended of an alliance between literature and literary criticism in the study of social life and his ability to judge literature strictly, analyzing the real phenomena and trends reflected in the works of an artist and the new possibilities which his works provided for understanding the negative features of reality, which hindered social progress or, conversely, the hidden shoots of new facts and real people and accomplishments of the present, retain their significant relevance as a lesson to our critics.

The party documents dealing with problems of literature and the arts emphasize that today we very urgently need criticism able to penetrate into the meaning of the real characters and phenomena of social life as reflected in literature and actively to assess these characters and phenomena and their positive and negative meaning from the viewpoint of the interests of the party, the people and the state and of the further progress by Soviet society on the way to communism. In this respect, the principles of revolutionary-democratic criticism, developed and brilliantly applied by Dobrolyubov in his articles have retained their special historical relevance.

Dobrolyubov's ideological legacy and the example provided by his heroic life and activities inspire our current criticism and literature, which are actively participating in the building of communism and in the struggle for the peace and happiness of the people on earth.

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FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY

A TIME-TESTED DOCUMENT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 86 (signed to press 22 Jan 86) pp 100-110

[Article by Vasil Bilak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and CPCZ Central Committee secretary. Abridged version of the report delivered at the practical science conference held in Prague on 9 December 1985, on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the adoption of the document "Lessons from the Crisis Development in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Society After the 13th CPCZ Congress"]

[Text] Fifteen years have passed since the CPCZ made a profound analysis of the crisis development in the party and the society after its 13th congress and drew lessons concerning the activities of party and state bodies and social and other organizations and establishments. The subsequent years confirmed the accuracy and relevance of the conclusions. We are turning today to this important document not in order to analyze the events which preceded its adoption, but in order, on the basis of what it sums up and the experience gained in the course of subsequent developments, again and again to emphasize the need for a Marxist-Leninist assessment of the complex phenomena in party and state life, the struggle against various shortcomings and a more energetic solution of the new problems which arise in building a developed socialist society.

The relevance of the "Lessons..." is felt by us particularly strongly today, when the party is preparing for the 17th CPCZ Congress. The congress' agenda will include problems of the further building of a developed socialist society and the substantial acceleration of Czechoslovak social and socioeconomic development. The time in which we live demands of us to change our entire way of thinking and approaching contemporary problems. Above all, this is a question of a better and more efficient utilization of the extensive opportunities and advantages of socialism. Such are the urgent requirements triggered by the needs of our people, involving the better satisfaction of their material and spiritual requirements and the need to maintain the defense capability of our country and the entire socialist community.

In preparing for its 17th congress, the CPCZ is extensively mobilizing the party members and all political and social bodies within the National Front for the successful implementation of the decisions of the preceding congress.

As a whole, the stage of development we experienced was marked by positive results. We were able to solve a number of problems which only recently seemed difficult, and accomplished a great deal along the line of building developed socialism. We thus laid a good foundation for the future. Nevertheless, we realize that this is only the beginning of the road. The tasks we face are no less difficult. We must achieve a more dynamic development of society, and its economy, social relations, political structures, enhancement in the quality of the entire set of working and living conditions and the further enrichment of the people's spiritual life. Only thus can we move ahead and this is the only way leading to the revolutionary development of society.

The dynamism of our progress is ensured also by the fact that we are not alone and that the same path is also being followed by the other fraternal socialist countries. The Soviet communists are marching in the front ranks. Their extensive preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress is truly impressive and is a source of inspiration. They are following a course of further growth and comprehensive development of their internal forces and of strengthening socialism's international positions. This contributes to the growth of its attractiveness and increased ideological influence on all peoples on earth. The CPSU's activities are a valuable source of inspiration to us as well. Its programmatic policy draws the unabated attention of the Czechoslovak communists and working people and is accepted by them with a feeling of tremendous sympathy.

Socialism is a society based on a scientific program and the knowledge and active utilization of the laws of social development. Starting with the Great October Socialist Revolution, and thanks to the consistent and creative activities of the CPSU and its tremendous amount of political and organizational work, theoretical principles have become specifically applied through the efforts of the Soviet people. The path of the CPSU and the results it achieved are a rich treasury of experience for the Marxist-Leninist parties and all working people in building a new society. The entire experience gained by our party proves that the more responsible the problems to be resolved become, the more we must draw from this rich source.

From history's view point, the world of socialism is young. However, it must now not only solve problems inherited from previous centuries but also open a path to the unknown and discover new approaches. Socialism frees man from social, national and racial oppression, offers him unparalleled opportunities for individual and social development and enhances his dignity. However, at the same time it is objectively impossible to implement fully the socialist political and moral principles within such a short time and under the conditions of aggravated international situation and extensive class confrontation. It is entirely natural that in following this unknown path we encounter obstructions and hindrances. Search has always been a difficult process, and when some problems are oversimplified, under- or overestimated, regardless of whether or not we are using our own experience or that of other countries, errors and blunders appear, which could have far-reaching consequences for society. V.I. Lenin repeatedly pointed out that "the novelty and difficulty of change naturally trigger an abundance of steps taken blindly, so to say, an abundance of errors and hesitations..." ("Poln. Sobr.

Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 36, p 204). This particularly applies to the creation of a new society free from exploitation, replacing the old one, a process of "advancement" of the social system, generation after generation. This process takes places under the conditions of a sharp class contradiction in the international arena. The forces of world capitalism are multiplying those of internal reaction in the struggle against socialism, stopping at nothing in order to destroy or, at least, weaken and discredit it.

The experience gained by our party proves that a country which has taken the path of building socialism must bear in mind that even after gaining political power and after the establishment of new production relations the vestiges of the defeated bourgeoisie and the formerly privileged strata continue their resistance one way or another. Their strength lies in the fact that they have experience and ties, that a variety of vestiges and traditions remain and that bourgeois morality has sunk deep roots. These factors cannot be entirely eliminated within the lifespan of a single generation. They remain viable for many years. In a favorable political climate, when the vigilance and class awareness of the Marxist-Leninist party is dulled and its ideological influence weakened, these forces can rapidly awaken and start looking for any suitable opportunity to extract social revenge.

Conditions for the energizing of such forces were created in our country as early as the 1960s. We somewhat forgot the Hungarian 1956 events or else, in any case, we failed to draw suitable lessons from them. On the contrary, we kept reassuring ourselves that nothing of the sort could take place in our country, in Czechoslovakia. Conversely, we must regretfully admit that our class enemy assessed the Hungarian events accurately and drew from them proper conclusions for his subsequent actions. We also failed to notice that contradictions appear under socialism, which, although nonantagonistic, if not identified and resolved on time, grow and may become nutritive grounds for the activities of hostile forces.

We have no desire to impose our viewpoint on anyone. We are convinced, however, that our experience, like that of the other fraternal parties, proves that the struggle for the defense of socialism cuts across national boundaries and becomes an international component of the common cause of the international communist and worker movements. Our experience enriches the practical experience of other Marxist-Leninist parties and may be useful in the struggle for strengthening the political power of the working class.

The reaction had assigned Czechoslovakia a perfectly clear role in its long-range plans. As early as February 1948 our country became the target of a broad plan for political, economic and ideological subversion. Within this context, the crisis which broke out played in the hands of the international reaction. That is why the method used to surmount it triggered such fierce and malicious efforts to publicize the Czechoslovak crisis so extensively.

Comrade Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, said the following at the June 1969 conference of communist and worker parties: "The question we are frequently asked is the following: Did we have enough internal strength to defend the gains of socialism? Yes, we did. Where, then, was the error? We know from the Leninist experience the importance,

particularly under critical situations, of having a principled, purposeful and decisive leadership provided by the Communist Party as the vanguard of the working class.

"At critical moments this is the decisive link. After January 1968, however, no unity in assessing the situation or in terms of programs, prospects and objectives existed within the CPCZ leadership.... The class roots and reasons for social conflicts and objectives, the influence of the class enemy and of his ideology within the country and abroad were forgotten in the intoxication with 'freedom' and cheap popularity."

At that time Comrade Gustav Husak promised that the CPCZ will make a conscientious analysis of these events. We kept that promise. Nothing in the "Lessons..." has been embellished and nothing has been exaggerated. Dispassionately we indicated the reasons for and consequences of the events. This is the strength of the document, which has passed the test of time and remains relevant to this day.

While drafting the "Lessons..." as well we had to wage a fierce class struggle. The party had still not purged its ranks. Many people remained within the CPCZ Central Committee and in other important positions, people who were unwilling and unable to acknowledge the truth about the Czechoslovak crisis and the objectives of the antisocialist forces. Conversely, they were doing everything possible for everything to be forgotten as soon as possible, so that they may retrench in the expectation of a new crisis.

The Marxist-Leninist forces within the CPCZ had to think of the future and to prevent the possibility of a recurrence of the crisis. A new document had to be drafted to become the foundation on the basis of which the party, the National Front organizations and the state and economic bodies could be cleansed from top to bottom and the very structure of the political system could be renewed. Time proved that we were able to accomplish this.

The document "Lessons from the Crisis Development in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and Czechoslovak Society After the 13th CPCZ Congress," which we adopted at the December 1970 CPCZ Central Committee Plenum, was the starting point for consolidating the situation in the country and an inspiring impetus and a weapon for all those who were fighting for the strengthening and further development of socialism in our country. After many long months during which the right-wing forces flooded the country with demagogic, a clear and specific analysis of the events which had caused such severe damage to the entire society appeared. This document was like a mirror in which those who were babbling about "socialism with a human face," thus trying to conceal their intrigues against the very foundations of the system and the socialist gains of the people, could see their true face. The importance of this document is also in the fact that it exposed with harsh bluntness our errors and excesses which had been allowed to occur in the course of building socialism.

The clear and intelligible program of the CPCZ for surmounting the crisis and ensuring further progress in building a socialist society, for politically isolating the right wing and restoring and consistently implementing the

Leninist principles was welcomed with sympathy and approval by the overwhelming majority of our working people. The communists and the true patriots, who had been terrorized by the rightist forces, enthusiastically went to work. The pseudoheroes of the "renaissance" process were forgotten quite quickly. They were rejected by the majority of those who had let themselves in the past be tricked by beautiful words. The masks of the main characters of the "Prague Spring" were torn off their faces. Many of the leading proponents of "socialism with a human face" showed their true faces after going West, going to work for the anticommunist centers (some of them, as it later became clear, had long been in their service). To this day they are working in the field of the frenzied defamation of their homeland, socialist Czechoslovakia. They are throwing mud at and slandering everything we hold precious. Today every honest citizen of our country must realize that the international aid which was given to us at the most critical point by the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries was truly necessary. Our allies did not wait for the counterrevolution to carry out its fratricidal act and for thousands of people to die. They came at the right time to prevent a bloody tragedy.

Years later, looking at the "Lessons...", we realize, once again, that they were not only a program for the struggle for the triumph of Marxist-Leninist forces over right-wing opportunistic and counterrevolutionary forces. They sum up the nature and expose the roots of the events which led to one of the gravest conflicts between the socialist and capitalist worlds. This alone proves that the importance of the "Lessons..." far exceeds the Czechoslovak borders. The fraternal parties turn to them as to a document from which proper conclusions can be drawn in charting their course.

We are not filing away these permanent values which have withstood the test of the harshest trials. They helped us to define our party's general line drafted at the 14th CPCZ Congress. This was the course from which the 15th and 16th congresses proceeded in developing and concretizing the program for building developed socialism. The positive results achieved by Czechoslovakia would have been impossible without restoring the party's unity and efficiency, leading role in society and close unity with the people.

Our party has covered a difficult but successful distance since the April 1969 CPCZ Central Committee Plenum. It faced the need to resolve the complex problems of the entire society and, at the same time, to restore its ideological and political unity and combat capability. The right-wing opportunists were relying on the fact that it was so corrupt and weakened that it would be unable to come out of this situation soon. They claimed that the young generation was completely lost to the party. Their hopes were not to be realized. The number of party members increased and the party became rejuvenated. Since the crisis more than 800,000 members have joined the CPCZ. Whereas in 1968 the average age of a party member was 50, today it is 44. The party has become organizationally strengthened and has restored its best revolutionary traditions in ideological work. "Lessons..." played an invaluable role in this process. The quality of the membership today is confirmed by the following data: one-third of it is under 35, nearly two-thirds of the party members are in production work and 42 percent are graduates of secondary or higher schools. These facts alone prove that the

party has all the necessary prerequisites for resolving the key problems in building a socialist society.

The development of events confirmed that the party purge was an inevitable and proper step. Without it the party could not have surmounted the internal crisis and lead society to a comprehensive socialist development. "The party rid itself of those who had abandoned the scientific outlook--Marxism-Leninism--and openly pursued a right-wing opportunistic, antisocialist and antipeople's course. The party also had to rid itself of unstable and oscillating people, who had panicked at the critical time and yielded to revisionist pressure and false nationalistic, anti-Soviet and antiparty slogans and moods. Those who had remained passive for a long period of time were dropped from the party as well," the documents of the 15th CPCZ Congress emphasized.

Today the overwhelming majority of those who did not receive their new party card are contributing with their toil to the development of our society, enjoying the full rights of Czechoslovak citizens, and are given the full opportunity to participate in political life and prove themselves by working within the National Front organizations.

The opponents of the "Lessons..." may be classified into two groups. The first is making efforts to have the document rejected, claiming that it hinders the reaching of agreement between the party and the socialist state, on the one hand, and the opposition elements, on the other. The second is doing everything possible to make us forget it as soon as possible. The CPCZ is always concerned with intensifying its unity with the people but has no intention of initiating any kind of dialogue with antigovernmental elements. The handful of those who, on the eve of the crisis, were coasting on the ideas of socialism, betrayed it once their hopes were dashed and hastened to create various antigovernmental groups, including the so-called "Charter 77." They represent no one in Czechoslovakia, and their voices are listened to only by those who are supported by the anticommunist centers.

Those who would like the "Lessons..." to be forgotten have far-reaching aims, nursing the hope of creating once again conditions for undermining and weakening socialism. No one denies that some people may feel insulted for being allegedly unfairly expelled from the party. However, a party purge was necessary. If a living organism is stricken by a dangerous ill, as was the case with the CPCZ, some healthy tissue must be inevitably cut off during the surgery. That is precisely why it was noted at the 15th congress that the CPCZ Central Committee holds the view that those who were not active supporters of right-wing opportunism, who today work well and are proving through their actions that they stand on the positions of socialism and friendship with the Soviet Union firmly and honestly, and who actively support our party's policy may be readmitted into its ranks on the basis of individual case reviews.

The party and the socialist state have not rejected those who have wanted to help them honestly, despite past errors. This is confirmed by the fact that individuals who were able to pass the party's scrutiny have been elected

representatives of public bodies, presented with orders and other awards and even given high state prizes.

Many people doubted our ability successfully to solve the socioeconomic problems which had accumulated in the past and cope with the new problems posed by life. What are the facts? Over the past 15 years the gross social product increased by 74 percent and the national income by 72 percent. Industrial production increased by 93 percent and agricultural output by 33 percent. Unquestionably the main tasks of the 7th Five-Year Plan will be fulfilled under domestic and foreign conditions much more difficult than those which prevailed in the past. We are essentially maintaining a balance of payments with foreign countries. We did not accomplish all of this by lowering the people's living standards, which continued to grow, while the quality of life improved.

We are proud of the results achieved by our people under the leadership of the CPCZ. However, we are not at all blind or deaf concerning unfinished projects and unresolved problems remaining in our country. We know them better than do those who like to cast aspersions on the socialist system. The critical exigency with which we expose the roots of shortcomings and the initiative with which we react to the new needs and tasks and struggle to resolve them are the basic and primary requirement of our party policy. This is the core of the "Lessons. . .," which remind us of what we must not forget.

At each stage in our development we must find the main link in the chain. We must see the future without losing sight of specific targets. In the national economy we must resolve the problem of increasing resources and labor productivity and the efficiency of the overall output. We simply cannot follow the way of extensive development, for this would result in stagnation and drop in the living standard of the people.

The world is at the threshold of a qualitatively new stage of the scientific and technical revolution which opens opportunities for an unparalleled growth of human constructive forces. The struggle for reaching new heights of scientific and technical progress and applying its results has become a structural component of the acute class struggle between the forces of socialism and capitalism.

All of these aspects are reflected in the preparations for the 17th CPCZ Congress. In principle we proceed from the fact that we face a double task: On the one hand, we must substantially increase the influence of society at large in order to meet the main quality production indicators, and the structure, quality and cost of our output; on the other, we must improve planning and management.

Essentially the task is to eliminate management methods which lead to interfering in all sorts of secondary problems and add to the paper shuffling process ever new flows of accounts, reports and references, while neglecting the main features.

Today we speak a great deal and with full justification about the human factor, which stands behind work quality, development of initiative and waging

a struggle against passiveness and indifference and promoting order and discipline in individuals and collectives. Unless the people themselves assume an active life stance the daring plans and pledges cannot be met, and without them the people's dreams will not become reality. Our present and future task is to make sure that creative initiative reaches the necessary height. We must implement steps which will enable us to resmelt the interests of the entire society into the most personal interests of the individual citizens. "An 'idea,'" as Marx aptly noted, "has invariably become disgraced the moment it found itself separated from 'interest'" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 2, p 89). No one should find it profitable to produce unmarketable goods and waste material values. Everyone must feel that his work is rated according to his real contribution. This contribution must be felt equally in the paycheck, the moral incentive and the benefits received from social consumption funds.

Our shortcomings in this area as well stem not from the socialist social system but from the fact that the possibilities which this system provides are not being consistently used. Look at the advice we are getting from the anticommunist centers on what to do in order to live better. Why is it that those who have no good feelings whatsoever toward the socialist countries, who drown them in curses, sanction all sorts of embargoes, discriminate and pay for the services of the enemies of socialism are also instructing us so touchingly, with maternal concern, on how to avoid errors? In this case they are guided by the principle that the worse it is for us the better it is for them. They are trying to lead us astray. They are recommending to us to abandon precisely that which constitutes the foundations of our socialist economy. According to their estimates we should panic and reach the conclusion that in the face of the new requirements the only remaining thing would be to "separate economics from politics," to open the gates to "free enterprise," to surrender to the power of the anarchic market mechanism and to create an army of unemployed.

Vainly do they think that we have a short memory. The crisis exposed in its entirety the glitter and poverty of those who were making precisely such recommendations "for the very best of reasons." They tried to spoil to the maximum the minimum they had accomplished. The freedom they intended to grant to private capitalist pursuit of profits was to be the stick of dynamite set under the foundations of the system of political power of the working people.

The way to correct shortcomings lies in the precisely opposite direction: making better use of the advantages offered by the socialist economy, improving its planned development and formulating strict and comprehensively substantiated criteria for each enterprise, plant and individual. The question of the extent to which the wages of the working people are consistent with the socialist principles and the quantity and quality of everyone's labor contribution is not in the least in the purview of supernatural forces. It is fully within the competence of those engaged in production management.

We frequently hear the objection that this will not be understood by the working people. What the working people precisely fail to understand is why unconscious workers earn as much as conscientious ones and the mediocre as much as the excellent workers and why is qualitative and substandard work paid

equally. People like order. Why did they support us during the difficult period of socialist construction and in surmounting the crisis? The right-wing forces had engaged in refined and hypocritical demagogery! Did we promise an easy life? We never concealed how much remains to be done. Social justice is the magnet which attracts the people to the communist program most of all.

This is the decisive source of inner strength and firmness of our system, giving the people their resolve to build and defend the socialist society.

The implementation of the difficult tasks which face our society, not in the socioeconomic area alone, most urgently require a general enhancement of the quality of cadre work on all levels and in all management units. This is another essential reminders of the "Lessons..."

Czechoslovakia is a reliable link in the socialist community and an active participant in international relations. The predictions of those who anticipated our international isolation failed. The principle-minded foreign policy pursued in the interest of peace, detente and cooperation earned our country great reputation among all progressive and democratic forces. Today the world considers Czechoslovakia an internally strong and consolidated state enjoying high international prestige. Now, when the world situation has become extremely dangerous by the fault of the aggressive policy of imperialist forces, more than every before unity, cohesion and a coordinated foreign policy play an exceptionally important role.

We are witnessing the fact that in recent years imperialist policy has been breaking all records of political cynicism, accompanied by noisy and meaningless blabberings about freedom, democracy, human rights and even social justice. The sole purpose of all of this is to justify a course which represents the highest embodiment of class egotism, aggressive hegemonism and state terrorism, efforts to change the correlation of forces in the international arena at all cost and turn the wheel of world history back.

War preparations have assumed a gigantic scale and the threat of nuclear catastrophe is hanging over mankind like the sword of Damocles. The struggle for peace is acquiring an entirely new quality. The barrier which socialism is erecting on the path of imperialist aggression ensures not only its own safety and generates confidence not only among the peoples of the socialist countries but in all mankind. That is why the comprehensive growth of the economic and defense potential of socialism, its technical and economic independence and the increased attractiveness and influence of its ideas are the frontline of the struggle for the survival of mankind. The thought expressed by Marx in his time is acquiring a new meaning: "...Now, finally, the working class is entering the historical arena no longer as an obedient performer but as an independent force aware of its own responsibility and able to dictate peace where its so-called masters are shrieking for war" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 16, pp 372-373).

Today every day new millions of fighters for peace are taking the side of this force, regardless of class affiliation and political, religious and racial differences. This was clearly confirmed by the world's reaction to the

meeting between Comrade M.S. Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in Geneva. Their dialogue was a major international event in 1985.

The activities of Comrade M.S. Gorbachev in Geneva were given a high rating at the summit meeting of Warsaw Pact leaders in Prague, at which full support of Soviet peaceful policy was expressed.

The resolve of the entire party and Czechoslovak people to struggle even more persistently for the elimination of the threat of nuclear war, halting the arms race on earth and preventing its spreading into outer space and for a turn for the better in international relations was expressed at the recent CPCZ Central Committee plenum.

This will be no simple matter. The struggle for the implementation of the Geneva accords and for reaching a disarmament agreement will demand tremendous efforts. We must also consider the fact that the forces which oppose mutual understanding are insidious and influential.

The United States is laying claim to anything which, in its view, could be of use to its global interests.

The orientation toward revising the results of World War II and attaining military superiority, the attempts to dictate its will "from a position of strength" and to undermine the unity of the socialist community by encouraging nationalism and other phenomena alien to Marxism-Leninism remain the main trends in the energizing of militaristic and anticommunist forces.

The "Lessons..." ascribe great importance to problems of party education and ideological and mass political activities. The document accurately point out that the underestimating of these areas in CPCZ work was manifested not only when the counterrevolutionary forces were already rushing to seize power. Shortcomings in theoretical activities, formalism, lack of aggressiveness and lack of concern for ideological education lowered the party's efficiency, weakened its ties with the masses and provided a scope for the activities of the so-called supporters of the "renaissance." This created conditions for the dissemination of false prescriptions and demagogies with the help of which the right-wing forces' influence increased.

After April 1969 we drew proper conclusions from all of this and adopted a clear program for the development of ideological and political work. It was thanks to this that we were able to surmount so quickly mass disorientation, restore the ideas of socialism in the minds of the people and encourage the development of their initiative. The ideological front and the mass efforts of hundreds of thousands of party members have played an essential role in our accomplishments since then. In this case we relied on the rich historical experience of the CPCZ. The manner in which our working people are aware of the advantages of socialism and its historical superiority over capitalism is not merely a criterion of the strength of their convictions but a key source and the main motive force of their readiness to resolve new problems. This is a manifestation of their true patriotism and class and internationalist beliefs.

The social sciences, from which we expect a deeper analysis of the new phenomena occurring in society and fuller answers to the topical questions of our development, must play an important role in this process.

Several thousand people are working in the social sciences. This is an army of which we are fully entitled to demand a great deal in upgrading the efficiency of propaganda and developing of long-range problems of the further construction of developed socialist society. Planning and the more efficient organization of social science institutes should contribute to improvements in their output. This is the only way to upgrade social science efficiency in the search for new approaches to the solution of problems and to improve their ideological impact.

The clarity of education and information-propaganda work depends on the type of answers to questions which interest the people most of all. In the final account this is what determines their accurate ability to defend and implement the party's policy. Sterile instructiveness, avoidance of vital problems and a choice of topics which could be hardly of interest to anyone undermine confidence in our policy. We cannot allow the enemy to assume the initiative in matters such as freedom, democracy, human rights and others. Comrade M.S. Gorbachev's statement at the meeting with the Stakhanovites and their new replacements applies to us as well: "We try to make our activities in all areas of social life even more public. The people must know both the good and the bad, so that we may increase the good and wage an irreconcilable struggle against the bad... Embellishments and whitewashing must be excised from our socialist family, our socialist society, with a hot iron."

The struggle against embellishments must not be waged in the manner of the right-wing opportunists, who cast aspersions on everything. This must not be understood exclusively as a criticism of the workers on the ideological front. It applies to everyone in charge of specific work sectors and to leading collectives. Trust in the people must be generously balanced by their trust in and active support of party policy. This is an important element in the development of socialist democracy and the struggle against bureaucracy.

The propaganda aggression mounted against us by imperialism is not self-seeking. It was precisely the period of the crisis that indicated its tasks. Attacks on the ideological values of socialism developed into an offensive against the very foundations of the political system, the economy and our defense capability. For many years the disinformation campaign remained the overture and only afterwards did it develop into the main weapon. We must not forget and neglect this lesson, which is particularly topical today, when psychological warfare has become official policy directed on a centralized basis by NATO headquarters, and dictated by the White House. The strategists planning these subversive operations themselves recognize that it is not a question of ideological confrontation alone. The task of psychological warfare is, as one of them frankly wrote, "to attain military objectives without direct mass use of military means." Nothing could be clearer.

The members of the socialist community formulate their domestic and foreign policy clearly and understandably. They neither threaten nor impose their political system and way of life on anyone. This is confirmed by the new

draft CPSU program, which although being the programmatic document of the Soviet communists, has an objective significance not only for communist and progressive forces but for all mankind. Not even the most developed and richest capitalist state or any political party, unless guided by a scientific outlook, can formulate and implement such a program.

This is a program for social justice, high standards, education, humanism, happiness and fraternity among peoples regardless of color or race, a program of confidence and peace the world over. This is what imperialism fears and it is in this that it is unable to compete with socialism.

The draft new edition of the CPSU program accurately stresses that "the young socialist world striving toward the future is opposed by a still strong and dangerous exploiting world of capitalism which, however, has passed its peak... The more the course of historical development undermines the positions of imperialism, the more hostile to the peoples the policy of its most reactionary forces becomes."

The conclusion which we can draw from this profound historical truth is that the hostility of these forces toward the socialist countries will become even greater. Their hatred frequently blinds them. They lose the ability to see the real situation. They think not about how to coexist but how to destroy socialism. Socialism, however, cannot be destroyed. Those who would attempt to do this condemn themselves to death.

The CPCZ document which was adopted 15 year ago and soon afterwards ratified at the 14th party congress emphasized that "The lessons learned from the great trials, the struggle and the stubborn fighting make it incumbent upon our party, and every party member and honest citizen of our country, who is loyal to socialism, to protect and develop socialism and never again to allow the appearance of any threat against it, whatever its origin, or regardless of the beautiful words and slogans behind which it may be hiding. This is our revolutionary, national, class and international duty."

The decisive guarantee that we shall continue to implement this obligation honorably lies in the firm ideological and organizational unity and the unity of action of our party and its intensified role in the life of the entire society. A mandatory prerequisite to this effect is the systematic implementation of democratic centralism and the development of intraparty democracy and principle-minded criticism and self-criticism. The experience acquired during the period of crisis serves as a warning against violating any one of these principles and standards.

Our close alliance and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries is the reliable basis of our confidence in and plans for the future. We favor a comprehensive coordination of a policy which multiplies the strength and increases the influence of our ideas.

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BOOK REVIEWS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

A ROSTRUM FOR FRATERNAL COOPERATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 86 (signed to press 22 Jan 86) pp 111-112

[Review by Yu. Shiryayev, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, of the CEMA journal EKONOMICHESKOYE SOTRUDNICHESTVO STRAN-CHLENOV SEV]

[Text] The publication of the journal EKONOMICHESKOYE SOTRUDNICHESTVO STRAN-CHLENOV SEV, official publication of the CEMA Secretariat, was undertaken 10 years ago. Initially it was a bi-monthly information bulletin (a monthly since 1982); in 1985 it was reorganized as a journal published in Russian, Hungarian, English and Spanish. Within that period the journal developed into a prestigious publication read with interest by people in the socialist community and beyond it.

This was related to the broadening of topics and enhancement of the sociopolitical significance and quality of the materials and the more efficient coverage of activities of CEMA countries and agencies. Today the journal's aspect is shaped by permanent sections, such as "The Economic Conferencee," "Integration in Action," "Activities of CEMA Bodies," "Exchange of Experience," "Joint Efforts," "At Enterprises and Organizations of CEMA Members," "International Competition," and others.

The editors try to broaden the journal's variety, with the help of topic selections, interviews and round-table discussions sponsored by the main editorial board, and reports from enterprises, associations and other organizations in CEMA countries and from integrated construction projects.

Such topic and genre variety contributes to strengthening the comprehensive nature of this publication. The journal provides a thorough study of applied and theoretical aspects of economic integration, foreign economic relations among fraternal countries and use of such relations for purposes of production intensification and enhanced technical standards. It is increasingly dealing with problems of perfecting the means and methods of interactions among CEMA members, planning foreign economic relations and many other topical problems. The journal pays particular attention to cooperation with the developing countries, which is increasing with every passing year, and to the assistance provided by CEMA members to such countries in the organization of their

national economy. The journal also deals with economic relations between countries affiliated with either social systems.

The study of all such problems is of major practical and scientific value, particularly considering a number of new forms and trends of mutual cooperation as determined at the 1984 Summit Economic Conference of CEMA Member Countries. This applies, above all, to the implementation of the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress of CEMA Member Countries Until the Year 2000, which was adopted at the 41st (extraordinary) CEMA session.

Naturally, the more detailed description of the dynamically developing interaction among the fraternal countries requires statistical data and specific facts and figures and sufficiently representative support materials. The journal's saturation with such data is increasing. The press in the CEMA member countries is using such information with increased frequency and extent, as confirmed by the growing quantity of articles and other materials reprinted in the fraternal countries and the abundant references to the journal's conclusions and statistical data in periodicals, pamphlets, books and scientific works.

Let us note that many articles published in the journal are essentially prime sources. They inform the readers on measures carried out by CEMA countries and agencies aimed at implementing the most important coordinated decisions and the specific development of the course followed by the fraternal communist and workers parties of intensified socialist economic integration.

An increased number of such data are in the nature of research and analyses, without losing for this their information value. The reason is that today priority in the activities of CEMA and its bodies is assigned to basic problems of economic growth and mutually profitable cooperation, many of which await their solution. The theoretical and political relevance of such materials is greatly predetermined by the high standard and professionalism of their authors. They include noted party and state leaders, heads of ministries and departments, leading scientists, enterprise and institute directors and senior officials of the Council's bodies, its Secretariat and international CEMA organizations and institutes.

In 1985 the journal focused on the Summit Economic Conference and the implementation of its resolutions. The historical significance of the conference and the meaning of the documents which were adopted were explained in detail; the course of the practical implementation of their stipulations was described. This informs the readers of the specific aspect of improving the organizational mechanism of cooperation, above all the coordination of national economic plans as the main instrument for a coordinated economic policy, production cooperation and direct ties among associations, enterprises and organizations in the fraternal countries. The dynamics of development of such forms of cooperation is described clearly.

The journal steadily publishes articles on the intensification and advancement of bilateral and multilateral cooperation among CEMA members. Legitimately, problems of interaction in the machine building, a key industrial sector the

level of which determines the successful solution of the problem of converting the economy to the track of intensification, which is shared by most fraternal countries, are assuming increasing importance. The establishment of the CEMA committee for cooperation in machine building, based on the decision adopted at the economic conference, plays an important role in this connection. Its activities are described by the heads of the delegations of the countries participating in the committee.

Taking into consideration the growing role of science and technology, the journal is paying increasing attention to the acceleration of scientific and technical progress in CEMA countries and their cooperation in the areas of electronics, comprehensive automation, including flexible production systems, nuclear power industry and development of new materials, technologies and biotechnologies.

By providing a broad overview of the interaction among fraternal countries, the journal substantively exposes the fabrications of imperialist propaganda concerning the nature, forms and results of socialist economic integration. Its readers are given the real picture of the economic situation in the community, the activities of the Council and its bodies and the steps taken by CEMA countries to strengthen their technical and economic invulnerability to hostile imperialist actions and their relations with third countries, the liberated states above all.

The further enhancement of the quality of materials published and the search for new and interesting forms of work will enable the journal to cover even more extensively and comprehensively the many-sided activities of CEMA and the development of the economies and reciprocal cooperation among fraternal countries. Obviously, the editors will have to take into consideration the fact that this publication is beginning to spread extensively beyond CEMA countries, which raises an additional set of requirements concerning its content and level of information.

This makes it even more important now, when the mass information media of the socialist community are paying prime attention to disseminating the decisions of the congresses, either held or under preparation by the ruling communist and worker parties. It is precisely now that the strategic guidelines for socioeconomic acceleration are being formulated and draft precongress documents are discussed, such as the new edition of the CPSU program and the Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and the Period Until the Year 2000. As the collective international press organ of the fraternal states, the journal must make its contribution to the dissemination of the achievements, tasks and prospects of socialist economic integration. It must provide a full and a profound coverage of the features of the current stage in the life of the fraternal peoples and their joint efforts for the further strengthening of the economic and defense power of the socialist community and its reputation and position in the world arena.

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A READER ASKS

FAILURE TO SCRUTINIZE....

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 86 (signed to press 22 Jan 86) pp 113-119

[Letter to the editors by N. Kurtorgin, Irkutsk Oblast]

[Text] Dear Editors:

Please answer the following question: Did our party meeting act properly by judging our party buro's 1985 work satisfactory although many facts relative to the collective's production and social life indicate the opposite? For example, for the past 2 years our Kirenskiy Forest Farm has failed to meet even a single one of its plan indicators: its 1985 work was worse than in 1984 and prerequisites exist for the nonfulfillment of the 1986 plan. There was no party training, and no party meeting was held between April and September 1985. Other than the buro members alone were issued party assignments. In 2 year no meetings of the collective have been held, with the exception of the accountability and election trade union conference. The only positive work done was helping the neighboring sovkhoz.

Signed: L.F. Tarantayev, CPSU member since 1960, Yubileynyy settlement, Kirenskiy Rayon, Irkutsk Oblast.

"Tarantayev, former manager of the Kirenskiy forest farm.... This, I think, makes everything clear. He cannot forget that he was the director," bluntly noted V.V. Shipitsyn, first secretary of the Kirenskiy party raykom during our meeting. "He is trying to find fault with Sudorgin, a young engineer, the interim director. His purpose is not to give practical and comradely assistance to this novice who has still not organized his work. Tarantayev seems to be pleased by that. Talk to the people at the settlement, they will confirm this...."

The advice was sound, the more so since the collective which had been headed by L.F. Tarantayev until recently, works under quite specific circumstances. When the roads become impassable, Yubileynyy, where the Kirenskiy forest farm is located, can be reached only by air. The settlement is quite distant--nearly 100 kilometers from the rayon center--even on the scale of Irkutsk Oblast, in the northern part of which Kirenskiy Rayon is located, between the taiga and the tributaries of the Lena. A beautiful place was chosen for this

forest farm 20 years ago. Houses were built on the banks of the beautiful river and lots in the beautiful Siberian forest stretched all the way to Nizhnaya Tunguska; no restrictions were placed on fishermen and hunters, and northern wage supplements compensate for temperatures of 40 degrees below, commonplace in these areas. The inhabitants of the settlement are mainly native Siberians, hereditary taiga people. They know the meaning of hardship, have a long memory for good deeds, do not make up their minds about someone in a hurry, but once they have, they stick to it. They discuss Leonid Fedorovich Tarantayev willingly, in detail.

One way or another, virtually everyone with whom I spoke mentioned the September 1985 accountability and election party conference, where the human and civic qualities of the former director were made perfectly clear. But let us speak of this later and begin with some typical features of L.F. Tarantayev's biography.

Tarantayev came here in 1970, from Novosibirsk, where he had been able by then to gain substantial experience in managing construction and other production projects. A man of few words, restrained, gradually but firmly Leonid Fedorovich earned the trust of those around him. He started by turning to the loggers with a request, showing none of the arrogance which was a feature of managers of remote forest farms.

"I know about equipment but not very much about trees. Will you teach me?"

Even minor matters were of interest to him. He had firsthand knowledge of the situation even at the most remote forest plot and in the settlement, for even before issuing the daily morning assignments, he had already visited the garage, the power-saw bench and the local power plant. He soon mastered adequately the new job--the preparation and exploitation of forest lots. Briefly, after having him as its director for a few years, the forest farm stood firmly on its feet: its marketed output exceeded the plan by about 900,000 rubles. This is an excellent result in this area and the rayon assumed a leading position. Tarantayev's authority was genuine. Workers and people engaged in social affairs willingly went to him with the knowledge that he would always find time for a talk, will not be slow in making a decision and would keep his promise. They also knew, above all, that their director was not indifferent to their needs.

Life raised its problems and L.F. Tarantayev resolved them with the help of like-minded people, who were many, without waiting for the next campaign or for "special instructions" from above. New developments do not appear from scratch. The daily needs and various interests of the people were his prime concerns. In Yubileyny he immediately stressed that even that distant settlement in the taiga had to develop socially. "The people must not be kept there by wages alone," he argued with the management of the Stroydetal Trust, the forest farm's superior organization. "If working and living conditions are organized on a long-term basis, yields will be high at all times."

With a great deal of difficulty he was able to obtain money for construction, doing everything he could. It is thus that 50 spacious apartments in good-quality wooden houses, a secondary school for boarding students, a club, two

kindergartens and a bakery appeared in the settlement.... Five years ago he set up an auxiliary farm. Although reprimanded by the trust, he nevertheless built a hog farm for 100 animals. Soon afterwards, the socialist competition among the forest farmers included an original incentive. The winning collective was awarded as an extra ration a big boar. The forest workers worked hard not for themselves alone, for which reason the neighboring sovkhozes helped them with suckling pigs and livestock feed.

Life in a forest farm has rather specific features. It is difficult here to distinguish between production, party work, trade union work or "purely" settlement and seemingly secondary matters. The entire settlement would attend a trade union meeting, arguing heatedly, sparing no criticism. However, if a decision was made, it was a truly joint and most necessary one. This applied to both major and minor matters, such as initiating a construction project, applying progressive working methods, hiring people or parting those who were unwilling to live and work honestly.

At the beginning of 1984 L.F. Tarantayev had a heart attack. He was hospitalized and used leave accumulated for several years. This was followed by 2 or 3 months of work and back to the hospital for the same reason. There was no time for regrets about unfinished projects. A successor had to be found quickly.... Briefly, he found, that same year, in Novosibirsk a young machine engineer, recent agricultural institute graduate. He offered Sergey Sudorgin the position of chief engineer so that eventually..... He also took into consideration the fact that Sergey's wife was a teacher and party member. This meant that the settlement's aktiv would gain two new fighters. That is what the director thought at that important and difficult point in his life....

It was then that the accountability and election party meeting took place. Today it is considered at the forest farm a touchstone not only for the party members but the entire collective. How would the collective rate the past and present situation, what would be its further development and what place would it assume in resolving production and public problems as formulated by the party, which had called for the accelerated reorganization of the most important aspects of the country's socioeconomic life? What made this question even more essential was that not only the general situation but also the local, the entirely specific situation urged the timber procurement workers in Yubileyny to find an answer.

The whole thing started with the fact that after a brief accountability report submitted by the party buro secretary, labor safety engineer Ye.Ya. Doroshina, L.F. Tarantayev took the floor with the motion that the work of the party buro be considered unsatisfactory. He cited in support of his motion the facts which were listed in his letter to KOMMUNIST. He said that it was no longer possible to go on that way and that the situation which had developed in the forest farm had to be analyzed honestly, most openly and frankly, and that the party members had to eliminate the major errors which had been made of late. His motion was seconded by logger D.V. Ivasyuk, trade union committee chairman driver V.F. Plaskeyev, pensioner L.N. Kuzakov, sawmill worker E.G. Dolgopolova and others. Although a "satisfactory" rating was passed with a 3-vote majority, discussions at the meeting proved that the opinion of the former

director was widely supported by party and nonparty members. Incidentally, it was also supported by G.M. Gallyamova, instructor from the organizational work department of the Kirenskiy CPSU Raykom, who had attended the meeting. Although she had recently joined the raykom and had managed to visit the party organization at the forest farm under her jurisdiction only twice, she was able to perceive the complex developments which were taking place.

"It is difficult to object to facts," Galina Mikhaylova said. "Sadly, one must acknowledge that in this case assessing the work of the party buro as positive is a concession to a misunderstood tradition and to the unwillingness to take the dirty linen out of the closet...."

What had happened? Why is it that a collective and its party organization, which had been successful until very recently, had begun to breakdown and quickly to lose such greatly needed qualities they seemed to have firmly acquired, such as cohesion, democracy and combativeness? Let me immediately point out that the overwhelming majority of the 17 members of the party organization at the forest farm, with whom I was able to meet and talk at length, strictly blamed themselves above all, for their carelessness and for the fact that formalism and mental inertia had gained the upper hand in the farm's production and social life, and after the new and clearly unsuitable management "style" began to affect the farm's specifics. It is true that such self-criticism was voiced in December, nearly 3 months after the accountability and election meeting....

In speaking out at the meeting, Leonid Fedorovich Tarantayev naturally realized the moral burden he was assuming and the opportunity he was providing for philistine discussions and hasty conclusions on the part of those who were either unwilling or unable to assess the events realistically and profoundly. Nevertheless, he had no choice for who, if not he, would be the first to call things by their true names and to take this difficult yet now necessary step? For the concept of "retired" does not overshadow in the least the concept of "communist." To begin with, it was his fault, the former director blamed himself, for his failure to see in his "godson" features which are counterindicated in a manager.

The experienced manager said sadly that of late the efficient work rhythm of the forest farm, which had prevailed for years, had been disturbed and all indicators were pointing downwards. Was it that the taiga had no more trees, that the forest farm had no skillful workers or that the equipment had broken down? No. Naturally, the forest fire which had taken place during the summer had worsened matters. However, the bulk of the timber had remained undamaged. Over the past 2 years the equipment had remained in good condition: one-third of the 18 hauling tractors were new. Same with the cadres: people entering the office see the now rare notice: "The forest farm has no vacancies"...

The main reason for the failures and errors was management. L.F. Tarantayev's unexpected resignation put the young chief engineer, unfamiliar with forest management, in a difficult situation. For the second year running he is the interim farm director. The collective is increasingly of the opinion that this difficult and responsible job was beyond the possibilities of Sergey Ivanovich. Although not lacking knowledge and firmness, the young manager is

ill-served by his self-confidence and his rejection of anyone else's viewpoint.

"That is not the difficulty," party buro secretary Ye.Ya. Doroshina and L.F. Lozovan, chief of logging transportation, objected at the meeting and, subsequently, in the course of our discussions. "People had to help the new director rather than stand aside...."

There was a certain amount of truth in this argument, for with increasing frequency S.I. Sudorgin was left to cope alone with the difficult problems of the forest farm. However, it has been long and rightly noted that one is prepared to help more willingly and sincerely not only those who need help but who also are internally ready to accept it. Did the young manager seek the support of knowledgeable people? Two springs ago, barely recovered, Tarantayev would show up at the office almost every day. He shared all he knew, he tried to prevent the errors which were due (as had already been noticed) to the character of the new director: "I will do it my way, and we shall see later whether I was right or wrong." For fairness' sake we must point out that Sergey Ivanovich did not forget to mention at the only trade union meeting held in 2 years, in his report, that "yes, Tarantayev was very helpful to me."

The practical steps he took on the basis of such advice is a different matter. The forest farm was unable to make full use of the dry and good summer of 1984. Timber procurements fell short and the sawmill frequently idled. Ignoring the old rule, no sheds were built in the taiga for the winter. The people wondered how two heated premises would house six or seven tractors? The purpose of such sheds is simple: in the bitter cold the working machinery must be kept warm; in the morning no more than 30 minutes should be spent to start it up and running repairs are easier in a warm place. However, the interim director determined that such work could be done also in the open, for which reason it took 2 to 3 hours to start the machinery. Naturally, such mishaps affected results. Timber procurements totaled 53,000 cubic meters instead of the 73,000 planned, and 51,000 cubic meters of timber were shipped out instead of 61,000.

What was worse was that in 1985 the situation developed unfavorably. Although forest farm veterans had advised S.I. Sudorgin that the timber plots were unsuitable for cutting he ignored their advice. He realized this personally only on the eve of the cutting. A great deal of time was wasted in replanning and that summer the sawmill once again stayed idle. The director spoke of the need to set up sheds in the forest only in December, when the ground was hardened by 40 degree frosts. The result of these errors was that the annual procurement and shipping plan was fulfilled by only slightly over 50 percent.

The natural question is this: where were the party members, why did they remain silent and failed to correct the manager? No, they did not remain silent and few people in the forest farm remained indifferent to the threat of losing their good reputation. However, the reaction to the concern shown by the activists for the common project was not the expected one. Elvira Gotliyebovna Dolgopolova, the then timber shipping foreman, tried to point out to Sudorgin that the timber carriers should not be used for the private needs

of the director 2 or 3 times monthly and that catching up later was very difficult. He answered: "This is my right and you mind your own business." Brigade leader Dimitriy Vasilevich Ivasyuk suggested: "Let us organize a second shift in the brigade. All we need are additional tractors and supplies for the people. We could raise our output by 10 to 15 percent in a single month." "This is not the time for experiments," he was cut short by the director

Knowledge of such answers spreads quickly in the settlement. Fewer and fewer people became willing to discuss frankly the vital problems of production and social life in the forest farm with Sergey Ivanovich, for the style of relations between the new director and his subordinates was strikingly different from Tarantayev's. Elderly and respected workers could not become accustomed to being addressed in the familiar "ty." Others were frightened by the firmness with which Sudorgin frequently resorted to the familiar sentence "If you don't like it, quit!" What other job was there here, in this taiga settlement, where one had his home, family and auxiliary plot, and where the forest farm was the only employer?

What were the possibilities and the duties of the party organization in opposing such an approach, if one may call it that, of the director to the implementation of his official duties? Naturally, the enterprise party members frequently asked such questions of their party organizer. However, it turned out that Yelizaveta Yakovlevna had her own point of view on such matters, which did not coincide with that of the collective.

Ye.Ya. Doroshina has worked at the settlement for nearly 3 years, alongside her husband, who is the chief mechanic of the forest farm. For the third time running she has been elected party organization secretary. She did not work long with Tarantayev, for which reason she is somewhat skeptical of his past successes and merits, saying that in the past even the water may have seemed wetter. Yelizaveta Yakovlevna, hard working and energetic, is not afraid of resolving difficult production problems. This quality was particularly manifested last summer, when she managed the shipping of finished goods down the river. As to her authority as a party leader....

Here is the way the settlement's opinion was formulated by veteran forest farm workers, frontranking driver V.I. Andreyev and party veteran pensioner L.N. Kuzakov:

"Our party organizer works not with the director but around him..."

Is this judgment too harsh and somewhat subjective? Let us look at the facts. For example, the trade union committee resolved that no new house in the best site of the settlement, on the banks of the Lena, should be given to the Barakov family, which deserved no particular credit for contributions to the forest farm, since the family already had an adequate 3-room apartment. Sergey Ivanovich, however, did not agree with this decision and ordered that that family be moved to the new house! He gave no explanation for his persistence. Meanwhile, the party organization secretary, who should have shed light on this situation, remained silent as stubbornly as S.I. Sudorgin pressed his decision.

Here is another case: there was a hitch with the feed at the livestock farm and the simplest solution suggested by the director was to get rid of this burden, let the sovkhozes breed the hogs. It was not the party organizer who defended the need for an auxiliary farm but Tarantayev, who cared a great deal for this offspring and, furthermore, had been asked to do so by the people.... When the situation regarding plan fulfillments and labor norming became particularly tense and whenever a party meeting was threatened to develop into a frank discussion of the forest farm management, Yelizaveta Yakovlevna made the best choice for herself: there were simply no meetings between the spring and the autumn, when the memorable accountability and election meeting was held. She regularly reported to the raykom that everything was in order.

Let us now consider why the nearly 2 years of breakdown at the Kirenskiy forest farm, a situation widely known in Kirenskiy Rayon, did not particularly worry the Kirenskiy party raykom. It would be difficult to overestimate its role in properly assessing and resolving the conflict. However, there is no point in enumerating the possible steps it could have taken to influence those responsible for the situation, for not a single one was applied. Was that because of lack of experienced personnel or the distance? The answer is amazingly simple: the raykom considers the forest farm an outsider, for the indicators of the Kirenskiy forest farm (the same situation in the rayon applies to five other forest farms) are not included in the rayon's overall plan. In other words, whatever may happen to the implementation of the production plan of such enterprises, run by different departments far beyond not only the rayon but the oblast, no one would hold the party raykom accountable as it would be, for example, for the work of the river port or the sovkhozes. Is that not the reason why raykom instructors visit the remote settlements once every 6 months or only to attend an accountability and election meeting?

The conflict situation in Yubileynyy brought to light yet another problem deeply rooted in Irkutsk Oblast: the system of exploiting timber resources on a departmental basis, which has been repeatedly criticized in the press but has shown a rare viability. Here several dozen self-procurement organizations have been established by hook or by crook, exploiting the richest part of the raw materials with the help of enterprises similar to the Kirenskiy forest farm. This is taking place regardless of the long-term plans of the oblast's forestry complexes. Naturally, such self-procurement organizations do not bother with reforestation. In this area as well as in all other areas of life of forest farms not under the jurisdictions of the Ministry of Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry, what dominates, as a rule is an approach to problems of enterprise socioeconomic development based on short-term considerations and minimal efforts.

Indicative in this respect is the stance of the Stroydetal Trust, the owner of the Kirenskiy forest farm, subordinate to the agricultural administration of Novosibirsk Oblast. A.S. Teterov, the trust manager, and M.I. Yefimov, chief of the trust's production-technical department, are aware of the full situation at the forest farm, for they themselves worked there not so long ago as engineers, and to this day visit it frequently. However, the logic of the relationship between the "center" and the "sites" of this independent timber

procurement organization is the following: the main thing is to extract more and do it faster. The rest is of no interest to the "center"....

For example, the Novosibirsk Trust regularly supplies its oblast with approximately 30,000 cubic meters of excellent-grade timber, obtained from 70,000 cubic meters of industrial timber. What happens to the rest? Some 10,000 to 12,000 cubic meters are used as fuel wood. The balance, which consists of logs with a diameter of under 14 centimeters and all other timber, some of which has rotted, is burned up! It has been estimated in Kirenskiy that nearly 1 billion rubles' worth of such raw material is being burned. In the final years of his management, L.F. Tarantayev tried to find some use for such waste. He planned to organize the production of containers, lathing and mine props. The problems was that the local river fleet does not provide above-plan haulage. He asked the trust to provide self-propelling barges and a floating crane and promised to supply additional goods needed by the national economy! In Novosibirsk, however, this initiative met with the stereotype answer: "Stop fantasizing, fulfill you plan."

It was not the director alone who was concerned by this crying irresponsibility in the use of a raw material of such great value to our economy. Nor could this leave indifferent workers and specialists at the forest farm. They frequently mentioned this at their meetings. However, the trust management is in no hurry to react to the clearly formulated question of the labor collective which is unwilling to tolerate the waste of people's property. They would come, discuss the problem with a small circle of forest farm managers and go home. As a rule, the party organization secretary attended such meetings. However, the Kirenskiy party members are not informed of what Ye.Ya. Doroshina says at such meetings and what her views are.

Editorial note:

"Today the specific actions of every Soviet person and each labor collective and party organization are particularly necessary," was what was said at the October 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. "The time has come to engage in even more energetic actions, which is the main thing today. Party, soviet, economic, trade union and Komsomol organizations must harness their entire potential and all of our resources and possibilities, the human factor above all, for the systematic implementation of assignments." It is precisely from such positions and such positions alone that the course of preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress and all work aimed at the implementation of the party's assignments must be assessed.

What are the roots of and the most instructive lessons from the situation which has developed in this distant Siberian settlement, a situation which was studied by N. Kutorgin, a correspondent for the newspaper VOSTOCHNO-SIBIRSKAYA PRAVDA, on an assignment for this journal?

The current party course of accelerated economic development and, on this basis, qualitative renovation of all aspects of social life is considered formally, here and there without a sufficiently profound interpretation of the most essential requirements of the time. This, however, presumes surmounting the inertia of tranquility and ensuring the decisive psychological

restructuring of cadres and comprehensively energizing the human factor. The most severe failure of the Kirenskiy CPSU Raykom is its inability promptly to consider the readiness of the people for strict and exigent self-assessment and for decisive changes in the organization of the production process and the work style of the party and the social organizations.

Once again let us consider the fact that nearly one-half of the party members at the Kirenskiy forest farm were unable to consider the work of the buro satisfactory at their accountability and election conference. Does this not confirm the sufficiently high practical and moral potential of the primary party organization which must be helped to regain its freedom and guided in the necessary direction, which is the direct obligation of the rayon party committee?

People who are not indifferent to their work and to social affairs, who account for the tremendous majority in our country, are firmly convinced that the time has finally come to speak of personal and someone else's errors with extreme frankness, without fear of the sharpest criticism and self-criticism, for it is only by knowing the entire truth of the situation, however bitter it may be, could it be corrected and a new step forward taken. This is what the party teaches us and this is what it taught party member L.F. Tarantayev and the comrades who supported him. It is regrettable that this action which could be described with no exaggeration as significant today has remained unnoticed by the party raykom and the Stroydetal Trust in Novosibirsk where information from even the most remote areas is obtained freely and promptly thanks to modern technology. Is such information always accurate? Is it properly assessed? Are the necessary practical conclusions always drawn on its basis? This story, which took place recently in that remote Siberian forest farm also leads us to consider such problems.

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THE JOURNAL'S MAIL: JULY-DECEMBER 1985

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 86 (signed to press 22 Jan 86) pp 120-127

[Text] During that period KOMMUNIST received 1,688 communications, including 543 articles, essays, reviews and notes, 189 responses to the journal's publications, 297 questions, suggestions and wishes addressed to the editors, and 659 petitions and complaints.

"The country is going towards the 27th CPSU Congress, which is an important landmark in the life of the party and the people. Millions of people are expressing their warm approval of the decisive steps taken by its Central Committee, aimed at the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, socioeconomic development, struggle against shortcomings and negative phenomena and efforts to strengthen order, discipline and organization."

"The party member, who is a convinced patriot and internationalist and who has assumed high responsibility for the fate of society and peace, must act as a model of the progressive Soviet person, morally pure and strong with his honest toil and party duty. To be in the vanguard of the building of socialism and communism is something to which every party member must aspire." "...The mind, honor and conscience of our age,' was the figurative, proud and loving description of the party given by the great Lenin!"

"While defending the cause of peace and supporting the 'spirit of Geneva,' we must also not abandon our vigilance. We must strengthen the defense capability of the state and raise the young people and our troops in the spirit of the lofty ideas and moral qualities." "...No one on our blue-green planet earth is willing to be burned alive in the crucible of 'star wars.' I am proud that we and our children live freely and happily in our socialist state which stands for peace and disarmament and is doing everything to prevent a nuclear catastrophe."

These are excerpts from letters to the editors sent by Yu. Kotin from Kirov, I. Starets, Great Patriotic War veteran, from Novodvinsk, N. Mekhontsev, from Orekhovo-Zuyevo and A. Medvedev from Dzerzhinsk. It is with these excepts, typical of the editorial mail received over the past 6 months, that we would like to begin our survey.

The mail we received was abundant and varied. It reflected the favorable changes which are taking place in all realms of social life and the preparation for the 27th party congress, which will earmark the main ways and tasks of our further development and adopt a new draft of the CPSU program and party statutes with amendments. The volume of mail has increased greatly since the beginning of the nationwide discussion of these drafts.

"I fully approve the CPSU Committee drafts. These documents provide clear guidelines for the tremendous work which must be done to perfect developed socialist society and the transition to communism. Our tasks are clear and, under the party's leadership, we shall implement them." These lines are taken from Yu. Kotin's letter. Some readers limit themselves to this type of general positive assessment of the drafts, noting their scientific nature, strictness, clarity and realism; furthermore, most contributors submit refinements and supplements to the texts, needed from their viewpoint, as well as their own drafts. Some readers, such as Muscovites F. Vaganov and V. Kardailiskiy, have sent in several dozen clarifications. In some cases, carried away, the letter writers add supplements to the drafts, most of which are interesting but which introduce almost nothing that is essentially new. Some of the suggestions are also based on the insufficient understanding of some aspect of theory and of the current stage in the development of society and the party. Some of the items contained in the letters are worthy of support while others are arguable. In all cases, however, we respect the views expressed by the Soviet people and their profound interest in the successful discussion of the CPSU Central Committee drafts. All suggestions are considered by them Central Committee to which, in the final account, all mail received by the editors in the course of the discussions, is addressed.

Initially, however, the mail is studied closely. The most interesting suggestions, which have been convincingly argued and supported by facts borrowed from life and social and production practical experience, are published in KOMMUNIST. The others are taken into consideration in planning the problems to be discussed by the journal and in preparations for the publication of specific theoretical and publicistic articles or else articles describing progressive experience. Others again help us to detect possible future journal contributor. All in all, the mail related to the discussion of the Central Committee drafts is quite useful to the editors in their work.

"I studied with great attention the draft new edition of the CPSU program and consider that it will be a fundamental party document of strategic, mobilizing and guiding influence in the development of Soviet society which has entered the historical stage of developed socialism," is the way V. Rubtsov (Krasnogorsk) begins his letter. He further lists his suggestions for the draft. Naturally, we cannot mention all of them here. He notes, for example, that the subsection "Acceleration of Scientific and Technical Progress Is the Main Lever for Upgrading Production Efficiency" calls for "seeing to it that labor collectives become increasingly stable." In his view, the meaning of the concept of "stable collective" should be explained.

Following is V. Rubtsov's view on the subsection "Perfecting Socialist Production Relations, the Management System and Economic Management Methods," which stipulates, among others, that the party deems necessary the further

development and enhancement of the effectiveness of cost accounting and the systematic conversion of enterprises and associations to total cost accounting. However, the author of the letter presumes, since "the question of cost accounting has still not been entirely resolved in our country either theoretically or practically," this stipulation should not be included in the CPSU program. Nevertheless, subsequently the author himself writes that "at the present stage of energizing of political economic research in all areas this science is becoming a vital necessity." But then why not set precisely as a programmatic task the introduction of total cost accounting? This would direct theoretical workers to the profound summation and development of acquired practical experience. This is an example of the difficulty of accepting a suggestion of this kind.

Following are some excepts from other letters. "The introduction to the draft," notes M. Rumyantsev, candidate of historical sciences (Cheboksary), "stipulates that 'the country has entered the stage of developed socialism'." He suggests that this statement be expanded by explaining the fact that the country is at the initial period of this stage. "Such a supplement would emphasize that a great deal more remains to be done and that many difficulties must be surmounted in the course of perfecting developed socialism and that difficult, broad and comprehensive problems must be resolved."

Specifications suggested by Muscovites Doctor of Economic Sciences M. Vasilenko and Candidate of Philosophical Sciences A. Yakovleva relate to the preamble to the section "Social Party Policy," which includes among the basic tasks that of surmounting the major disparities between mental and physical labor. They suggest that we turn to Lenin (see, in particular, vol 39, p 15) and include his formulation in the program, namely that "...between people engaged in physical and people engaged in mental labor."

According to Dr of Philosophical Sciences S. Goncharuk (Lyubertsy), "the CPSU program must formulate the main objective contradictions of the period of perfecting socialist society and its growth into communism. This would strengthen the theoretical substantiation of the tasks formulated in the draft new edition and refine the means of resolving them.... The works of many Soviet scientists on contradictions have included a great deal of interesting and accurate viewpoints which should be taken into consideration."

V. Ban (Liyepaya) raises the question in even broader terms: "Perhaps it may be expedient to describe the basic contradictions of our epoch." Muscovite Candidate of Economic Sciences P. Andreyev as well suggests that the program provide a more detailed and complete description of the contemporary age.

A specific suggestion is submitted by Professor V. Sbytov, CPSU member since 1947. Pointing out that the founders of scientific communism considered socialist society as steadily changing rather than as something established once and for all, he suggests that the following definition be included in the program: "Socialism is a dynamic developing and advancing society in which 'life anticipates contradictions' (V.I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 47, p 219), which are resolved by the Communist Party on the basis of the creative application and development of Marxist-Leninist theory and the extensive consideration and utilization of the criticism and

self-criticism of the masses in its activities." It is thus, the author emphasizes, that the most accurate interpretation of criticism and self-criticism will be provided, for currently it is described as a method, a means of improving the work, ignoring the Marxist-Leninist definition of criticism and self-criticism as a new dialectical law of social development and a method for identifying and resolving contradictions under socialism.

The readers and contributors to the journal highly rate the party's economic strategy as presented in the draft and submit their refinements. For example, Doctor of Technical Sciences G. Motovilin (Leningrad) considers that it would be important to include in the second section of Part 2 of the document, which discusses factors for upgrading the efficiency of scientific and technical progress, that it also depends on perfecting the system of technical servicing and repairing of equipment and technological sets.

V. Afonin (Novocherkassk), CPSU member since 1938, considers that "although the draft mentions the growth of labor productivity, it would emphasize it by including in the program the familiar Leninist concept that labor productivity is, in the final account, the most important factor in ensuring the victory of the new social system, the more so since today the party has set the task of achieving in our country the highest level of labor productivity in the world. This is a strategic task and should be voiced most emphatically."

Dr of Philosophical Sciences N. Gorbachev (Saratov) suggests that the "accurate statement in the draft concerning the need to ensure the faster development of basic and fundamental research" should be extended as follows: defining the general line of scientific and technical progress." Also bearing in mind the importance of the old painful problem of accelerating the pace of applying innovations in the national economy, to stipulate that "ministries and departments will be legally accountable for red tape in connection with putting scientific discoveries and inventions to practical use." Particular mention should be made of VUZ science and it should be emphasized that it is important, in the interest of the cause, "decisively to get rid of 'sterile' workers, who are discrediting the honorable title of Soviet scientists."

G. Zadorozhnyy, teacher at Kharkov University, welcomes "the concept of accelerated socioeconomic development, on which the draft new edition of the program is based," and particularly emphasizes the stipulation of upgrading the role of the human factor. Pointing out that the coincidence among the basic interests of society, labor collectives and individual workers is increasingly becoming the foundation of the further development of their independent and creative activeness and is having a positive impact on various aspects of social life, the author suggests that this thought be included in the program. Candidate of Economic Sciences G. Dobrin (Leningrad) believes that "the text of the draft program should specify the meaning of the concept of the increased involvement of the working people in the production management process."

According to the readers, the program should reflect more extensively the party's concern for the individual and for the growth of his consciousness and professional, political and aesthetics standards. Once such reader is Plant Foreman A. Golovyrtshev (Surgut). He expresses the following wish: "It must

follow to an even greater extent from the new draft of the program that the most important thing to us is the education of the working person, the individual loyal to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism; and that observing socialist morality, discipline and legality is a matter of honor for everyone." Recalling the great significance which Lenin ascribed to strengthening labor discipline among the builders of the new society, war veteran A. Rumyantsev (Ekibastuz) suggests that the program include an exhaustive definition of socialist labor discipline.

In discussing the definition of labor in the draft, especially as being the main criterion of the social prestige of the person, Dr of Philosophical Sciences V. Blyumkin (Kursk) writes: "I believe that this thought could be expressed more fully and emphatically by using broad and meaningful concepts such as "social status," "personal dignity," "honor," etc. I suggest the following formulation: 'labor is the basic source of the material and spiritual wealth of society and the main criterion determining the social status and personal dignity and honor of the person...', and then as in the text." He believes that the description of communist morality should be expanded with the definition that it is also a morality of social justice.

Professor G. Gumnitskiy, Ivanovo University, writes that, in his view, the fundamental principles of communist morality should be described more accurately. "The concept of the moral code of the builder of communism has already become part of the social consciousness. Should it be deleted from the text?" This is the view expressed by others as well, such as I. Neklyudov, from Novosibirsk.

"All problems related to education and upbringing should be subordinated, one way or another, to the tasks of moral education (which includes a political content, for it indicates that the shaping of a morality not 'in general' but a communist morality)," G. Gumnitskiy emphasizes. "Obviously, however, the concept is still widespread that the time has not come to give such upbringing a priority significance and that we should initially deal with our basic economic problems.... We cannot agree with this, for the moral factor is not only a consequence but also a reason for economic changes."

Letters to the editors deal with all chapters and sections of the draft. As a supplement to the program section on "The Party Is the Leading Force of Soviet Society" (or else to the CPSU statutes), Muscovite P. Kozlov, CPSU member for 60 years, deems it suitable to include an item calling for the systematic renovation of the membership of elective party bodies on the basis of stipulated ratios. In his view, this would "exclude the possibility of the excessive concentration of power in the hands of individuals and would prevent loss of control over such individuals by the collective leadership."

Many readers submit suggestions concerning the parts of the draft which deal with the foreign policy of the Communist Party and the assessment of the forces of progress and reaction in the contemporary world. In noting that the draft convincingly describes the further intensification of socialist economic integration, V. Furayev, USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences corresponding member (Leningrad) deems it expedient to characterize capitalist economic integration as well, which is continuing to develop and is manifested, above

all, "in the activities of international monopoly associations as a form of struggle for the economic division and redivision of the capitalist world."

As reported by Candidate of Historical Sciences L. Berdnikova, head of the Chair of Scientific Communism at the All-Union Correspondence Engineering-Construction Institute (Moscow), the chair considers important the analysis of the world socialist system in its historical dynamics, included in the program, and suggests that the document describing the socialist community include the words "distinguished by the high level of awareness by the ruling communist and worker parties of the objective unity of the basic targets and interests of its member countries."

Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Ye. Troitskiy, chairman of the organizational committee of the theoretical science conference on "Dialectics of the World Revolutionary Process and Groundlessness of Bourgeois Concepts," which was held in Moscow, describes the suggestions formulated by its participants, including the expediency of retaining in the program the concept of "national liberation movements;" he recalls that, as defined by Lenin, "economics" is the main feature in national liberation (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 22, p 187), and that this problem is by no means resolved yet. Yalta reader B. Zavorotnyy discusses in his letter the growing militarization of all areas of life in the imperialist countries. He believes that the party document should pay greater attention to this process.

A number of letters deal with the draft CPSU statutes (with suggested amendments). Here are some. Muscovite S. Matyushkin: "In the part of the draft which discusses the duties of the party member, point 'd,' the words 'mastering Marxist-Leninist theory' should be followed by 'and acquire the skill of putting it to practical use...'." P. Gladkov (Ishim): "We frequently tolerate negative features in the character of a person and his unworthy actions and even accept him in the party. We then begin to remark on his behavior and reprimand him..." In his view, such a person should be "demoted to candidate member and, should this not help, expelled from the party, having been accepted by mistake." Candidate of Juridical Sciences D. Bernshteyn (Tashkent): "I suggest a stipulation in the statutes according to which in addition to the recommendation by party members for CPSU membership, there should be a recommendation of the labor collective where the recommended persons works and where he is well known should be required.... Such a procedure would contribute to strengthening the ties between the party and the people. It would make the acceptance of new party members better thought-out and would enhance the role of labor collectives.... This will be an additional and impeccable filter. Above all, the labor collectives and the working people will be given the right themselves to promote their best representatives to join their own party."

Responses to materials published in KOMMUNIST remain a substantial part of the editorial mail. For example, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences B. Kasenov (Karaganda), who gives a high rating to the article "The Revolutionary Dialectics of Marxist Realism" (on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the publication of V.I. Lenin's work "On the Problem of Dialectics") (No 1, 1985), emphasized the need to continue to enrich Lenin's philosophical legacy in the area of scientific problems of political economy. He expresses the wish that

textbooks and training-methodical publications pay greater attention to the law of unity of struggle between opposites, to which Lenin ascribed great importance in his "Philosophical Notebooks," including the article "On the Problem of Dialectics." Currently it is "difficult to determine the specific functioning and manifestation of this law" in said publications. Nevertheless, he reminds us, they are used in training millions of students. "In the course of such training they should develop an economic, a philosophic way of thinking and a dialectical-materialistic outlook. However, the weaknesses and shortcomings of textbooks and aids limit the process of this development, "concealing" to a certain extent the logical unity between economic and philosophical principles.... The editorial article guides the readers to the overall perception, practical application and further development of theory."

Here are other characteristic responses to the journal's articles. "We held an open party meeting on the topic of the "KOMMUNIST editorial in issue No 13," reports R. Samoylenko, party bureau secretary, Poltava Oblast television and radio broadcasting committee. "The discussion of the article 'Honest and Pure Name of Party Member,' was heated and businesslike. It helped everyone to take a self-critical look at himself and assess the accomplishments of the collective more exigently. Lively debates were held. CPSU member N. Danilenko said, 'The article reminds us that the party members must not forget Lenin's legacy and the tasks of the revolution; and that words must be backed by specific actions.' Nonparty member V. Chumak said: 'I agree with the thoughts expressed in the editorial. We are still not displaying the necessary exigency toward ourselves and our fellow workers.' A resolution was adopted at the meeting to thank the journal's editors for printing such a highly publicistic article, filled with party passion. I am implementing this decision with the present letter."

A. Dmitriyenko, propagandist at the Avtopogruzchik Production Association in Lvov: "The editorial triggered in us, party members, a feeling of pride of belonging to the great Leninist party. Everyone reinterpreted the statutory stipulations which enhance the high title and significance of party membership, for the people see in the party member, in a certain sense, the features of the man of the future...."

Excerpt from the letter from Muscovite Professor A. Burganov: "I cannot conceal my pleasure at reading the article by N. Proshunin 'Word on Criticism' (No 14). This is a sharp and wise article which directs the party members to make a desired turn in their thinking and actions during the responsible times in which we live." He is particularly impressed by the author's views on the harm of "efforts to replace the interpretation of the essence of the matter with an analysis of actual or imaginary shortcomings of the critic, in order to 'damage' his reputation by any means available." We must learn, he writes, to struggle against negative phenomena, shortcomings and specific carriers of evil. "The positive-critical activities of the party and all its members must be enhanced through actions, actions above all." S. Yamshchikov, student at the Marxism-Leninism University and worker at Petrozavodskstroy Trust, would like KOMMUNIST to continue to develop problems and "publish materials on criticism from the positions of the philosophy of dialectical materialism."

The letters mention the need to enhance the role of the CPSU in all areas of social life at the present stage. V. Demchenkov (Kalininograd) believes that it is important to improve the quality of party ranks and be exigent toward party members, managers in particular. He emphasizes that "in no way should the importance of their political qualities at the expense of practical ones be belittled, for sooner or later this leads to grave consequences.... If the activities of a manager, albeit a knowledgeable specialist, are directed toward obtaining immediate advantages to the detriment of strategic objectives and at satisfying egotistical interests--personal, group or even those of the labor collective as a whole, at the expense of the interests of society--such a manager should be relieved from his position and his party membership open to question."

V. Yakushev's article "Competition and Perfecting Distribution According to Labor" (No 6) triggered a broad response. Its main theme--the expediency of reorienting distribution according to labor toward competition results--appears fruitful," write V. Mamutov, UkSSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, and M. Langshteyn, candidate of economic sciences, stating that the efforts of researchers and practical workers should be directed toward the efficient reconstruction of the existing economic mechanism. To one extent or another this view is shared by other writers as well. Yu. Fedorov, deputy director of the Kaztyazhpromarmatura Production Association (Ust-Kamenogorsk) reports that the article met with broad understanding and response in the association, for it indicates ways of energizing engineering work and assessing its effectiveness. S. Konovalov, chief of the street cars depot, Saratov Street Car-Trolleybus Administration, calls for applying at enterprises a labor incentive method based on socialist competition. The news from Leningrad is that V. Yakushev's article was discussed at a meeting of the city inter-VUZ problems commission on "Political-Economic Foundations for Management Improvements." The participants in the discussion, writes Professor N. Moiseyenko, its chairman, believe that the concept of combining centralized planning with socialist competition and material incentive deserves comprehensive support and development. According to Doctor of Technical Sciences V. Shatsillo (Sverdlovsk) although involving the difficulty of establishing comparative criteria in assessing activity results, such an approach to organizing the competition enables us to broaden the range of incentive and thus to upgrade the efficiency and quality of the work of scientific personnel.

In the opinion of Candidate of Philosophical Sciences A. Trukhin (Moscow), the question of strengthening ties between moral and material labor incentive and results of the socialist competition must be reflected in the party program. He suggests that the following stipulation be included in the proper section: "Distribution according to labor and the system of material and moral incentives must be related more completely to the successes achieved by workers and collectives in competing against each other and contributes to promoting competitiveness and displaying comradely cooperation and mutual aid in labor and dissemination of progressive experience."

In his response to the editorial "Preserve and Multiply Socialist Property" (No 14), reader A. Petrov from Anzhero-Sudzhensk (Kemerovo Oblast) considers "timely and accurate" the question discussed in the article, according to

which departmental control is obviously unable to cope with its obligations. The author has worked as an inspector and chief of department of the BKhSS, and has frequently come across cases in which auditors checking departmental enterprises and apparently observing corresponding "regulations" issued by their immediate superiors, stubbornly "failed to notice" cases of whitewashing, figure padding and other abuses. The time has come, he believes, to implement the old and already discussed suggestion in the press of setting up in the country a "unified control-auditing apparatus independent of ministries and departments," staff it with experienced cadres and subordinate it to a single authority, perhaps the Ministry of Finance. "This would drastically increase the effectiveness of the control-auditing service and the size of its staff would be reduced."

Other letters to the editors deal with problems of the farming industry and the management of multisectorial farms under the conditions of the integration processes between town and country and agriculture and industry, now under way. Of late these questions have been raised most frequently in connection with the lag in the most important sector--animal husbandry. Veterinarian A. Tuzhilkin (Moscow Oblast) properly notes that the question of its intensification has been raised. However, one must bear in mind that this means, above all, the full utilization of the potential productivity of the herds raised in the farms. Currently, because of weaknesses in the feed base and, particularly, the scarcity of protein-containing feeds, breeding and veterinary work is poorly organized and the dairy and meat productivity of the cattle remains, as a rule, low. Professor D. Vasilenko (Kiev) writes about the underestimated value of hog breeding. This is a "fast growing" sector and no objective reasons exist to hinder the proper organization of this sector and make full use of the natural high productivity of sows and thus to accelerate the solution of the meat problem, which is the most important part of the Food Program. Let us add to this that the editors have received a number of articles and letters on various aspects of organizing feed production and cattle feeding. These are essentially responses to the ideas and suggestions contained in A. Dusheyko's article "Is This the Way We are Planning Feed Production?" (No 1). The editors have prepared a survey based on these responses.

The readers justifiably discuss at greater length rationalization and invention problems. According to M. Boykov, assistant at the Moscow Forest Engineering Institute, it is still traditionally believed that the scientific and technical revolution is in the field of scientific, engineering-technical and design-engineering institutions and cadres, whereas the masses are frequently assigned a passive performing role. "Times are changing, however. Today this approach is no more than a prejudice. Superior human and creative capabilities are being increasingly manifested precisely on a mass basis.... Let us recall that the task of the scientific and technical revolution is not only economic but also social--to enhance the level of human development. Everyone can and must participate in it; in this area the true innovators, who could be intellectuals, workers or kolkhoz members, are the decisive force."

A. Ilinskiy from Kharkov is concerned by the fact that "a trend has developed of pitting the planning activities of large scientific and technical institutions against the largely spontaneous creativity of creators and

rationalizers. This conflicts with the party's task of extensively developing popular initiative and bringing to light the creative capabilities, talents and activeness of everyone and intensifying creative work." He writes about the obstructions encountered by scientists and inventors whose ideas and hypotheses have not been included in the plans of scientific institutions.

Dr of Technical Sciences D. Tatishvili (Moscow) writes the following: "...We are ignoring the concentrated scientific thinking of the army of retired scientists, who have not exhausted their possibilities as creative workers and scientific innovators. Their ideas are frequently quite valuable. Would it not be expedient to create a voluntary society of retired scientists, which could recommend the practical implementation of anything worthy of attention?"

Materials pointing out that two global problems exist on the planet earth are particularly numerous: preventing nuclear and ecological catastrophe. Most of the manuscripts received by the editors on problems of utilization of nature and environmental protection were responses to the CPSU Central Committee Plenum's and Comrade M.S. Gorbachev's speeches in Dnepropetrovsk, Tyumen and Tselinograd and to the articles published in KOMMUNIST No 13 "Thinking of Land Fertility" by F. Morgun and "Plan: Scientific Substantiation and Responsibility" by S. Zalygin.

"The intervention of man in the complex ecological systems of the biosphere is impossible without negative consequences on a different scale," notes M. Tolstoy, professor at the Moscow Hydrolic Reclamation Institute. "Since they are inevitable, however, it is important always to strive toward choices with minimal negative (maximally positive) consequences. We must abandon instant benefits, look ahead and remember that natural resources can be exhausted and the errors and blunders, which have frequently brought about soil erosion, loss of a significant share of the humus, salinization, flooding of farmland, scarcity of drinking water and other difficulties." The author is concerned by the fact that in drafting plans, including big and most responsible ones which we occasionally hasten to describe as "projects of the century," the possible impact of their implementation on the environment in the immediate and, more importantly, more distant future, is not entirely forecast; and the fact that the scientific organizations frequently undertakes systematic studies only after most of the main decisions have been made.

Although positively assessing the comprehensive environmental protection programs, Dr of Geographic Sciences G. Shvebs (Odessa) cautions that it is important to consider them together with production and economic programs and only then plan the development of a given area (region, complex). The author cites practical examples of specific aspects of efficient utilization of nature, "important to the national economy as a whole but, for a variety of reasons, 'ignored' by individual sectors."

The manuscript by Candidate of Biological Sciences S. Shostak is entitled "Leninist Principles of Environmental Protection." The author refers to the experience and problems of the famous Belovezhskaya virgin forest (where he heads a laboratory) in discussing the country's reservations. "Environmental protection requires constant party concern. Every one of us is responsible for it. The preservation of nature for future needs must be undertaken today!"

Such is Lenin's behest..." "This is a problem of great economic and social significance," write V. Muravyeva and V. Sakovtsev, docents at the Tselinograd Pedagogical Institute, as though continuing his thought. For nature is not only a source of material resources, well-being and prosperity of the people, but also a major factor in spiritual life. Love of nature is related to love of homeland, of one's native land. It is our sanatorium, a source of life...." The authors share their experience in environmental protection and describe the participation of public organizations, university and secondary school students, and war and labor veterans in it.

Retired Colonel Engineer Muscovite I. Kutyrin writes about the wounds inflicted on nature by the continuing arms race. He cites scandalous facts related to the activities of the military-industrial complex in the United States and many other capitalist countries and the aggressive imperialist sallies. This includes "dumping" radioactive waste in the world's oceans, the leaking of toxic substances and the Pentagon's "development" of methods for waging geophysical warfare, including the creation of artificial torrential rains and fire storms, the chemical "clearing" of jungles, the monstrous experiments in using highly toxic preparations in the Amazon Basin and many other crimes, which have turned huge territories into lifeless deserts and resulted in severe illnesses and the death of millions of people and the destruction of plants and animals over thousands of square kilometers. The author expresses the hope that the struggle against the arms race waged by mankind will be successful.

We already mentioned letters on improving ideological education. We have also received letters on the permanent value of literature, motion pictures, the theater and other arts in interpreting for the benefit of the young generations of Soviet people the party's history and the struggle waged by Lenin and his fellow-workers for the right cause and their contribution to the victory and defense of the socialist revolution. Dr of Historical Sciences B. Varetskiy, who rates highly the book "Life Dedicated to Struggle," by V. Novikov, which is about N.E. Bauman, the earnest Bolshevik, published by Politizdat, writes: "Turning to the past always includes the happiness of the discovery and even better understanding of the present. Our party's revolutionary past inspires us with heroic examples and teaches us through the difficult experience of history and instills in us pride in achieved successes. That which we are doing to preserve the sharp human memory for all times is truly invaluable."

Many social scientists and literary workers responded to the article by Yu. Afanasyev "The Past and We," which was printed in issue No 14. Some of them supported the author, expressed critical remarks and discussed a great variety of aspects of the problem. However, the article also met with active opponents. All of these articles were taken into account by the editors and will be discussed in a future work.

Candidate of Pedagogical Sciences A. Reznik, teacher at the Gayvoron Secondary School, Kirovograd Oblast, discusses problems of education. He reminds us that it was pointed out at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum that now, when the school reform is underway, we must approach the tasks set by the party not formally but meaningfully, and radically improve the quality of

education and upbringing. A great deal has been done in recent years to raise the students in the example Lenin's heroic life and revolutionary activities. How to enter the world of Ilich, the school student, and his theoretical legacy? This is a question which is always in search of an answer. In speaking of "acquisitiveness," and, in particular, of surmounting the initial extreme (refusal to study Lenin's works under the pretext of the difficulty of the material, on the one hand, and efforts to study theoretical works for the mastery of which seniors lack adequate training and practical experience, on the other), the author points out existing shortcomings caused by a variety of errors encountered in training and method publications, the weak Marxist-Leninist training of teachers in VUZs, inability on the part of many of them to work with Lenin's writings directly and to link theory with practice and history with contemporary times and to present to the students his teachings as something eternally alive and developing.

The readers approach from various sides an old painful problem, that of intensifying educational work at home. What kind of organizational methods could be applied for the steady and more responsible participation of retired party members in such work and by still active people? B. Romanenko (Khimki) suggests that party members without party assignments at their place of work be issued assignments at their place of residence by the party organizations of the ZhEK (DEZ), above all in order to involve more extensively the entire population in ideological education.

Another aspect of the problem is discussed by P. Skuratov, a party worker in Vilnyus, and by L. Zinchenko, a Sverdlovsk party a labor veteran. Currently nonworking retired party members are advised to maintain their membership in the institutions of the house-management service. Some of them accept this willingly but others find it difficult to leave their own collective, particularly if they feel that they could be more useful there. A differentiated approach, based on specific interests, the personality of the party member and his experience and willingness may help solve this problem.

Other letters confirm the intolerance of the Soviet people toward parasites, and all sorts of rascals and thieves. "One must know how to live," some people say," writes party member N. Zubchenko (Leningrad). "They operate according to the principle that 'you are a thief only if you get caught,' believing in their impunity.... Now, when the party is intensifying the struggle for social justice, it is important to improve the activities of law enforcement agencies and actively involve in such work the soviets, public organizations and labor collective."

Dr of Juridical Sciences Kh. Amanov (Ashkhabad) calls for uprooting distorted phenomena, such as bride-money: "In our time paying and receiving bride-money is not merely a manifestation of an ancient custom but parasitism and petit bourgeois mentality; in order to save the necessary amount and organize large and protracted "drunken" marriages, there are those who engage in stealing, profiteering and bribery.... The existence of bride-money develops a harmful mentality toward women."

The need for a more systematic observance of Soviet laws and implementing the familiar decrees on the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism is

discussed in the articles by scientists L. Zasorin and I. Nikolayev (Leningrad) and V. Kvetkov (Kurgan) and in the letters of driver V. Kolesnik from Ananyevo, readers L. Kiselev from Moscow, M. Latyshev from Chernenko and others. They justifiably relate the success of the work for a healthy and sober way of life with the requirement of promoting it not as a campaign but on a steady and comprehensive basis, sensibly combining organizational, administrative and educational measures; they develop the concepts included in the editorial "An Extremely Important Matter" (No 12), which met with broad social response. The manuscript from Kurgan considers the sociological, psychological and epidemiological aspects of alcoholism and sums up experience acquired in antidrug propaganda; the Leningrad authors specifically analyze the various reasons which lead some people to use alcohol and write that "each one of them should be countered with the opposite reasons which lead to sobriety." The communal enterprises at the Ananyevo Combine have done a great deal to promote the struggle for sobriety, as a result of which labor discipline has increased and the moral climate has improved, they report in their subsequent letter.

In the opinion of the readers, a better organization of the leisure time of the working people and involving them in mentally, spiritually and creatively enriching and physically strengthening forms of relaxation should contribute to the elimination of harmful habits and old customs and ceremonies conflicting with the morality of socialist society. This is the spirit of the responses to the respective journal publications, including the article by V. Balsevich "The Sports Vector of the Healthy Way of Life" (No 12) which, as N. Kolodeyev, a sports coach in Odessa writes, "confirms the just concern of the party for the state of affairs in the area of physical culture and sports." "Converting to entertainment and professional sports is a political problem," Engineer N. Lyzlov (Moscow) believes. A note entitled "The Sports Vector: Economic Aspect" was received from Muscovite S. Shpilko, a scientific associate. In his letter, reader M. Romanov from Yefremovo discusses both the significance of truly mass physical culture and sports as well as other components of leisure time, which "should work for society rather than against it," and suggests that this important category of scientific communism, which is of great importance in the all-round development of the individual, be emphasized in the CPSU program.

The editorial mail is increasing with every passing day. It describes achievements in resolving economic and social problems with which the labor collectives are advancing toward the 27th CPSU Congress and the increased responsibility of the party members and all Soviet people to the homeland and the party for the creative and active implementation of Lenin's ideas.

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REGULAR ENROLLMENT OF STUDENTS AND POST-GRADUATE STUDENTS AT THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE ACADEMY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 86 (signed to press 22 Jan 86) p 128

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences announces the regular enrollment of students and post-graduate students. Leading personnel of party, soviet, ideological, trade-union and Komsomol bodies, who are higher-school graduates, under 40 years of age, may enroll for post-graduate studies and in the basic and correspondence departments of the academy, if so recommended by the central committees of communist parties of union republics, CPSU kraykoms and obkoms, central organizations and ideological institutions.

Post-graduate courses will be offered at the academy by the chairs of CPSU history, philosophy, political economy, scientific communism, party construction, Soviet state construction and law, ideological work, production economics and organization, management of socioeconomic processes, social psychology and pedagogy, history, journalism, socialist culture, the international communist movement, international relations and foreign policy, and by the Institute of Scientific Atheism.

The central committees of communist parties of union republics, the CPSU kraykoms and obkoms and the central organizations and ideological institutions will submit to the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, for the individuals recommended for training, an excerpt from the decree of the buro (collegium), character preference and the corresponding documents. Post-graduate students will submit a list of publications, including articles published in newspapers and journals.

Recommended applicants for post-graduate studies will be summoned for entrance examinations at the CPSU Central Committee AON between 14 and 30 April 1986; applicants for the basic and correspondence departments will be invited for a talk between 12 May and 12 June 1986.

Students recommended for post-graduate studies will be granted paid leave by their place of employment for a period of 30 calendar days for preparations for and taking the entrance examinations. Classes at the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences will begin on 1 September.

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REGULAR ENROLLMENT OF STUDENTS AT REPUBLIC AND INTEROBLAST HIGHER PARTY SCHOOLS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 2, Jan 86 (signed to press 22 Jan 86) p 128

[Text] The regular enrollment of students in republic and interoblast higher party schools is hereby announced. Enrollment in the VPSh will be based on recommendations of central committees of union republics, kraykoms, obkoms and the Moscow City party committee.

The higher party schools will accept CPSU members of no less than 3-year standing, among party, soviet, Komsomol and ideological workers, as follows:

two-year full time and 3-year correspondence departments: higher-school graduates under 40 years of age;

four-year full time and 5-year correspondence departments: secondary-school graduates under 35 years of age.

By no later than 15 March 1986 the central committees of union republics, kraykoms, obkoms and Moscow party gorkom will submit to the higher party schools an extract of the buro decree, character reference and corresponding documentation for the personnel recommended for enrollment.

Those recommended for 2-year full time and 3-year correspondence training will be summoned to the VPSh for a talk between 10 April and 1 May 1986; while those recommended for 4-year full time and 5-year correspondence studies will be summoned for entrance examinations in foundations of Marxism-Leninism, Russian language (composition) and USSR history (secondary-school level).

Individuals recommended for training will be granted a 2-week leave with pay to prepare for and take the entrance examinations.

Classes at the higher party schools will begin on 1 September.

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